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ABSTRACT

Twelve papers were presented at the first student summer conference of the ICA. The introductory paper reviews contemporary approaches to teaching communication theory and research and its application. The papers in Part I, "New Directions in Theory and Research," focus on the following topics: (1) redirection of the focus of communication education, (2) definition of the scope of the communication field as a discipline, (3) relevance of small group research to the study of group communication, (4) application of theoretical research to real-life communication situations, and (5) expansion of the focus of interpersonal communication research to achieve conceptual and theoretical unification. Part II, "New Directions in Applied Communicology," includes papers on the following topics: approaches to management change and organizational communication, a proposal for the use of the staff-line-service model for organizational research, improvement of communication skills for the socioeconomically different student, complementary research methodologies for the study of music lyrics and drug use, information needs of the university community, and consequences of public access to mass media. (LG)

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNICATION:

Proceedings of the 1972

ICA Student Summer Conference

Edited by

Stewart L. Tubbs

General Motors Institute

AS 500 062

EDITOR'S PREFACE

At the ICA conference in Atlanta last April, an informal meeting was held with interested students in the suite of outgoing president Ronald L. Smith. The meeting's purpose was to ascertain ways in which ICA could better serve the needs of students in our field. One of the predominant issues that was raised was the fact that students, by and large, could not afford to attend ICA conventions as frequently as desired. Although we recognize that this is true of many non-students as well, it seemed particularly true for students.

In an attempt to offer students an opportunity to attend a low-cost conference, the first ICA Student Summer Conference was hosted at General Motors Institute in Flint, Michigan, August 16-18, 1972. There was no registration fee, and free room and board were provided by ICA.

The theme of the conference was New Directions In Communication and the objective was to bring together papers which dealt with theory and research along with those which dealt with applications of theory and research. Those papers are contained in this volume.

As director of the conference I would like to thank Jane Chiu, Marty Hurley, Ronald and Betty Smith, Gail Tubbs, and Roger Wilcox whose extensive efforts helped to make the conference a success. I would also like to thank General Motors Institute and Phi Delta Theta fraternity for allowing us to use their facilities. Finally, I would like to thank Gary Schwendiman for offering valuable suggestions on the article which appears first in this volume.

Stewart L. Tubbs

Flint, Michigan
September, 1972

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN COMMUNICATION: GETTING IT TOGETHER

Stewart Tubbs
General Motors Institute

There are but a few who have not felt the effects of recent economic belt tightening in higher education. It is at times like these that we are more prone to ask whether or not we (as an academic discipline) are headed in directions that will continue to justify our very existence. For those who doubt that our continued existence may be in question, Clevenger (1972) states,

> . . . in my opinion all the academic professions are in trouble today, owing to a general decline in the fortunes of education in the United States.
>
> Each of you could cite an example of danger out of events in your own state. Let me give you just one example from Florida. By decree of the Board of Regents, which controls all universities within the state, each of Florida's graduate universities must, by the end of this month, turn in a list of its top six and bottom six departments in terms of incremental support over the next decade or so. Now, one doesn't have to read very carefully between the lines to see what is going to happen to the departments listed in the bottom list. Barring a miracle, they will almost surely be slated for dissolution. (p.4)

In another recent article Harding (1972) predicts a general decline in the field with fewer undergraduate students, requiring fewer undergraduate students, requiring fewer graduate assistants, taught by fewer professors clammering and competing for fewer jobs in departments with fewer available dollars (p. 3-7). The declining job market has already been documented by the SCA placement over the period from 1966 to 1971. (Hall, 1972) The time, it seems, is ripe for us to take stock of ourselves and look for ways in which to optimize our collective professional future.

Typical Trends

Positions taken in the past, regarding future directions for our discipline seem to fall into three need categories: (1) theory development, (2) research development, and (3) application development. Emmert and Brooks (1970) explain the importance of the

development of theory because, ". . . it integrates data which otherwise would remain mere collections of facts. Thus, scientific study depends directly on the quality of theory or conceptualization that gives it direction or fucus." (p.4) Numerous writers including Nicholson (in this volume) and Smith (1972) have examined our current state of theory and found it to be lacking. One colleague attempting to paraphrase my statement that our field was lacking in the area of applied communicology said, "In other words you feel that we are theory rich and application poor." I replied that I didn't think our theory was all that rich either. Our theoretical construction is felt by many to need further development.

While some bemoan the lack of theoretical development, others concern themselves over the wretched state of our research. Bormann (1965) points out the need for research when he states that,

> The major function of research is to conserve the accumulated wisdom of the past, to amplify, clarify, and modify this wisdom, to make this knowledge more effective in improving the practice of the various arts of speech, and to create an appreciation of excellence in the various artistic areas of the discipline. (p.14)

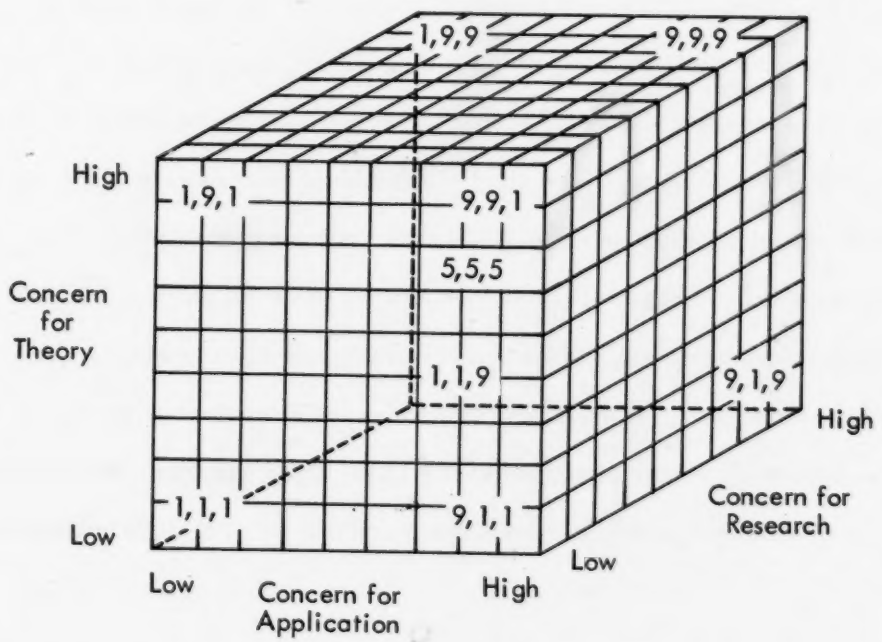
One can hardly finish reading the results of an empirical study without seeing the familiar exhortation for further research. Although the plea becomes repetitive, it nonetheless maintains its validity. (c.f., McCroskey, 1969 and Mortenson, 1970) In addition to the need for more and better research, there is the need to employ complementary research methodologies in tackling future problems. All too often a researcher becomes proficient in the use of one methodology (e.g., factor analysis) and continues to employ that methodology on one problem after another whether the problem requires that type of analysis or not. Fitzgerald's paper later in this volume deals with this issue at greater length. Thus, there is still a major need for the development of our research efforts.

Third, while there are those whose concerns focus on the need for theory and research, still others cry out for more relevance and/or practical applications for the subject matter of our discipline. Johnson (1972) states that, "We have at our disposal a vast amount of behavioral science research on interpersonal dynamics. Yet this knowledge has not been translated

into a form useful to individuals who wish to apply it to their interpersonal skills." (p.4) Other writers have substantiated this perception (Arnold, 1968; Ellingsworth, 1969; Llardo, 1972; Roever, 1972; Zima, 1971). The recent emphasis on career education (c.f., the SCA 1972 Summer Conference Proceedings) would indicate that much of our future educational effort will be toward educating our students to do something other than teach others what they were taught. In short, if we are to survive we most assuredly must prove our practical worth more effectively than we have done in the past. (For a further elaboration of this issue see the Feingold paper later in this volume.)

Getting It Together

Each of the three points of view described above, it seems to me, is incomplete. In order to preserve our integrity as a discipline we must move ahead on all three fronts simultaneously or become victims of our own overspecialization. Extrapolating from the work of Blake and Mouton (1964, 1970a, 1970b) and further work of Reddin (1970) we might do well to develop ourselves along a three dimensional model such as the one shown below.



Combining the concerns for (1) application, (2) theory, and (3) research we find several extreme types with which we may be familiar. The 1,1,1 professor is characterized by minimum effort toward department and professional objectives and chronic withdrawal from students and colleagues. He has lost his enthusiasm for his work and is "coasting." The 1,9,1 professor is the philosophical theoretician. Whether it be the theory of the attic orators or of the Hovland research group at Yale, he can quote extensively from the thoughts of others. But, don't ask him to explain how to use the theory or how to rigorously test it.

The 9,1,1 professor is concerned solely with "communication skills." Just give him a list of the ten sure steps toward communication effectiveness and he will teach them. His approach is atheoretical and has no need for research. The performances of his students are all that matter.

The 9,9,1 professor is one who has learned the theory and has learned how to sell it as a consultant. He is a good salesman and he is able to show how his results are based in sound theories. He is so busy putting on training programs and traveling that he has little time to devote to research.

The 1,1,9 professor evolves out of a style of graduate training that allows students to analyze empirical data, or abstract articles in the library for professors, but does not encourage them to synthesize and analyze the reasons behind nor the applications of the data or abstracted ideas. This produces the 1,1,9 professor who likes to gather data with a semantic differential, dogmatism scale, interaction process analysis form, etc., but who does not understand the reasons or the uses for the data which he continues to mull over in the form of computer printouts (which impress his colleagues and students).

His 1,9,9 counterpart, on the other hand is the "true scholar" of our times. He is well versed in both ancient and contemporary theory as well as research methodology and he devotes numerous hours, graduate theses, and journal articles to detailed explications

of the refinement of these heories. He is too busy "grinding it out" to care whether or not it has any relevance to problems in the real world.

The 9,1,9 professor likes to do "research" and he likes to see performance improvement on the part of his students. He has learned to use a few measuring instruments from graduate school (like a semantic differential) and he knows how to improve communication skills from his undergraduate training. But he does not understand the connection between the two bodies of information. This type of person might conduct the style of research described by Bormann (1970).

The 5,5,5 professor is driven by pragmatics and is a jack of all trades, master of none. He knows a few theories, somewhat superficially. He does some research projects (whichever topic or methodology happens to be in vogue at the time). And he occasionally relates his subject matter to events in the real world with such obvious comments as, "Now the Arab-Israeli conflict, there's a real communication breakdown."

Finally, the 9,9,9 professor is vitally interested in all three areas previously mentioned. He keeps abreast of new developments in theory, while he is actively engaged in questioning and testing those theories through research. He differs from the 1,9,9 professor, however, in that he does not consider it beneath his dignity to leave the library or the laboratory and to apply his knowledge to new and difficult problems in the "real world." These types of professors do exist and I believe that their efforts will contribute to the continued success of our discipline. (c.f., the Piersol, Wilcox and Gilham papers in this volume as well as Giffin and Bradley (1969), Kline (1972), and Stewart (1972)).

Summary

As you read these descriptions of different professorial styles, I would encourage you to identify the spot where you find yourself placed on this cube. Then ask yourself whether this is the direction that will be the most beneficial for you and for our discipline in the years to come.

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BEYOND OBSOLESENCE: COMMUNICATION EDUCATION AND MAN AS INFORMATION PROCESSOR

Gerald R. Miller
Michigan State University

In matters of information storage and retrieval, man, when contrasted with machine, is indeed a humble creature. Examples of the machine's sovereignty in the realm of storage and retrieval are legion. We are told:

> If . . . all the issues of the New York Times in its history are committed to a computer memory . . . and these are indexed properly . . . it will be possible for a questioner to learn in seconds the answer to a question like "Since 1851 [the founding of the original New York Times] which presidential Cabinet members and other prominent advisers have resigned over policy differences with the White House?" Or "Please print out with its date and place of delivery every paragraph spoken or written that Politician X has made on the issue of race relations since 1946. And please follow this with all his recorded votes on race-related issues before Congress."
> (Bagdikian, 1971, p. 250)

Moreover, we are reminded that constant advances in technology make possible "the building of computers with the capacity to handle information on a correspondingly larger scale." (McCarthy, 1966, p. 2).

Almost anyone with a nodding acquaintance of advances in computer technology can point to similar illustrations of the astounding capacity of machines to store and retrieve information. What is frequently overlooked -- or perhaps consciously or unconsciously repressed -- is the conclusion implied by such illustrations: man is a relatively inefficient storer of information, and to devote concerted efforts to increasing his storehouse of information represents, at best, in investment with marginal returns, and at worst, an educational anachronism.

At least two arguments can be marshalled to support this conclusion. First, as we have already noted, machines can store and retrieve information more efficiently than men. Second, the continuing information explosion ensures the early obsolesence of most information; what is stored at considerable expense and effort today will often possess little utility

tomorrow. Thus, to perpetuate an educational system predicated upon a view of man as an information storer is to squander our limited financial and human resources.

While the preceding statement is hardly revolutionary, it is likely to provoke a heated response from some. To raze the crumbling walls of the storage edifice is to create anxiety for many of its occupants. If a computer can spew out all of the relevant precedents in a matter of seconds, how are the hours of law classes previously spent in recitation and memorization of cases to be used? When a machine can take any combination of symptoms and instantly print out a probable diagnosis, why should a substantial portion of medical school be devoted to laboriously committing these symptoms to human memory? Closer to home, if a researcher armed with a set of descriptors can quickly retrieve all the prior studies relevant to a problem of communicator credibility, what is the point of using a week or two of class time to review and memorize a small subset of these studies? In short, a teacher who uses most of his class hours to store information in students' heads is not using time wisely. But since that is precisely what he has always done, the uncertainty created by removing his security blanket of dog eared notes, crammed with a potpourri of assorted information, often culminates in a severe case of anxiety. After all, he must meet his class from 10 to 11 on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and if he is stripped of his reservoir of information, how is that time to be spent?

But fear of the professional consequences of change is not the sole reason why many educators cling to an outmoded definition of their major responsibility. Our ordinary language predisposes us to think in terms of information storage. We speak of the "content of a course" or the "subject matter of a discipline" -- phrases that conjure visions of undifferentiated masses of collected information. We attest to the importance of "certifying a student as competent in the subject matter" -- a role that metaphorically aligns us with the USDA meat inspector, as we stand beside a conveyor belt stamping "Prime," "Choice," "Good," and "Utility" on our students, in accordance with the weight of the bundles of information they roll by with. Whether we like it or not, most of us are symbolically

conditioned to evaluate our effectiveness as communication educators on the grounds of how much information we have apparently succeeded in storing in students' heads.

If the realities of our contemporary intellectual and social milieu argue against an educational world view which emphasizes man as information storer, how are the central efforts of communication educators to be rechanneled? Or stated differently, if we aren't going to push information storage, what are we going to push? I contend that the central task of all education -- and communication education in particular -- is to produce persons who are more effective information processors. For I believe, as I have asserted elsewhere, that "in late twentieth-century society, man's capacity to cope with his environment depends far more on his ability in processing information than upon his skill in storing it." (Miller, 1972, p. viii).

In response to an obvious initial question, let me stipulate this tentative and admittedly not totally satisfying definition of information processing: information processing is a psychological activity encompassing those procedures, rules, or insights which guide individuals in selecting or discarding information, which determine how the selected information will be combined and synthesized, and which dictate the kinds of conclusions or decisions warranted by the combined information. When a person demonstrates proficiency in applying the rules or procedures, combining the information, and drawing warranted conclusions, we call him a capable scientist, logician, mathematician, musician, or whatever. When a person displays the knack of combining information in new or novel ways so as to expand, enrich, or alter the set of warrantable conclusions that can be drawn, we honor him by calling him creative.

Great intellectual and aesthetic events invariably involve breakthroughs in information processing. The Newtonian laws of classical mechanics, Liebnitz' invention of the calculus, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Darwin's evolutionary theory and Einstein's quantum leap -- to mention but a few -- represent instances when information was combined in novel ways to yield new, startling conclusions. In the realm of human communication, McLuhan's,

"the medium is the message," serves as a reminder that many of the most central questions about communication effects center on ways that information is processed.

By contrast, persons with an unusual capacity for storing information are usually regarded as little more than intellectual oddities, unless they also possess the capacity to process the information efficiently. One is reminded of the ill-fated quiz show of about two decades ago, "The 64,000 Dollar Question," and its premier "champion," Theodore Nadler. Nadler, an obscure postal clerk with an acknowledged photographic mind, seemed to possess an unlimited capacity for storing factual information. That he was regarded as something of a freak and that he faded back into obscurity shortly after the show's demise underscores the limitations of mere storing capacity and attests to the intellectual hegemony of the processing function.

Moreover, within scholarly disciplines, judgments about intellectual competency are based largely on considerations of information processing, rather than information storage. The hallmark of a good historian is not the ability to memorize the dates of innumerable battles, treaties, and conquests (though, of course, some distinguished historians may have this ability), but rather the gift to choose selectively from a mountain of historical information, combine the selected information in a cogent, ordered way, and draw conclusions that are warranted by the chosen information. Likewise, the staple ingredient of good philosophizing, as numerous philosophers have reminded us, is argument, and information processing is almost synonymous with the activity of arguing -- though as an aside, one would hardly grasp this synonymity by observing that contemporary marvel of information storage fashioned by one band of communication educators, the interscholastic debater. Finally, the thoughtful student of human communication is distinguished not by his ability to parrot quotations from a dozen noted English orators, nor by his facility at regurgitating the various definitions of rhetoric offered by a cadre of eminent rhetorical theorists, nor by his capacity to recide the findings of the first 20 persuasion studies conducted by the Hovland group -- such information is readily available to him if and when he needs it. What does earmark a person as a

scholar of human communication to be reckoned with is the ability to process some subset of this information intelligently: to formulate significant, new generalizations about human communication, to design researchers that will expand the theoretical and empirical frontiers of the discipline, to create new theories dealing with the aesthetics and ethics of communication.

Many may concur with my preceding remarks yet dispute my major contention that most communication educators have until now devoted the lion's share of their efforts to developing curricula and programs which stress information storage, rather than information processing. The remainder of this paper focuses on what I perceive as manifestations of this preoccupation with information storage, and as a corresponding lack of concern with questions of information processing. My judgments are buttressed by no rigorously designed empirical studies nor by any careful content analyses of classroom interaction profiles. Still, they are by no means capricious, for they are based on my observations of a discipline with which I have been closely involved for the last 15 years.

Consider first what I shall semi-facetiously label the great debates on inquiry. Since these confrontations have abated in the past few years, some of you have been mercifully spared from them. But at one time, no national or regional convention was complete without at least one program dealing with the "proper" way to conduct research. Typically, the program began with a hoary, venerable scholar who extolled the virtues of the "traditional" approach to human communication research. While the term "traditional" has low descriptive value, it could usually be interpreted to mean that historical and critical studies should be the major order of business for students of human communication.

Next, enter the young, pink-cheeked radical, the "experimentalist" -- again, a term of limited descriptive utility, but still, the appelation usually employed. For him, science provided the magic key to the treasure chest of communication secrets. Hardly a problem existed which could not be chi-squared, t-tested, or Spearman rhoed into submission.

Any question, no matter how trivial, could be contorted to fit a three-factor analysis of variance. And over-riding this concern with statistical formulae and paraphernalia was usually a blind, unquestioning faith in the intellectual omnipotence of scientific inquiry.

What bearing do these exercises in futility have on my major contention that communication educators have slighted matters of information processing? In addressing this query, I must introduce one other item of information. Seldom did the principals in these debates attempt to delineate the types of communication questions with which they wished to deal. Anyone possessing a nodding acquaintance with information processing realizes the centrality of this consideration: the most efficient, intellectually defensible way to process information is dependent upon the question one seeks to answer. In the arena of values, the information processing rules and procedures employed by the communication scientist are often of limited utility; conversely, deceitful communicators may often persuade others, no matter how one resolves the ethical question of whether communicators ought to practice deceit. For one question, a given subset of information may be relevant; for another, it may not. For one question, it may be legitimate to combine information in certain ways; for another, it may not. And for one question, a particular conclusion may be warranted; and for another, it may not. Any discipline with a fundamental concern for information processing realizes the importance of distinguishing the various types of questions that can be asked about the phenomena of interest to the discipline. The fact that this issue was consistently ignored in the great debates on inquiry -- and for that matter, that it is seldom treated in the communication literature -- speaks eloquently of our lack of concern with information processing. Contrast this relative silence with the number of pages devoted to biographical descriptions of the great rhetorical theorists, orators, and communication researchers of the past -- material that lends itself to information storage -- and you get a feeling for the priorities of the field.

Recently, however, as I have indicated, some communication scholars have called for a moratorium on such meaningless debates about inquiry. On the surface, this may seem

encouraging, but when one examines the reasons given by many of these writers, he is struck by the naivete, or the indifference, manifested toward matters of information processing. What we are now told is that differences in methodology are trivial, that what is important is that we all march forward together, bringing our collective energy to bear on the substantively significant questions of human communication.

Such a position, which represents a 180 degree departure from earlier attempts to establish the supremacy of a particular methodology, overlooks one crucial fact: the choice of a particular methodology reflects a conscious decision to opt for one information processing system over another. For a methodology is an information processing system, and while it is sometimes possible to use several methodologies in dealing with a particular question, one's choice dictates the information he will select, the ways the information will be combined, and the kinds of conclusions that can be legitimately drawn from the data. Thus, one can grant, as I have already suggested and Arnold (1972, p. 77) has recently underscored, that "methods gain significance only after we have decided what questions we want to ask about what substance," and still balk at the naive assertion that questions of methodology are unimportant. Quite the contrary, an understanding of the advantages and limitations of various methodologies arms the student with an understanding of the ways in which communication information can be processed. To entertain seriously the possibility of relegating methodological questions to a trivial stutus is to abandon a central responsibility of communication education when viewed within the contest of man as information processor.

Other manifestations of the communication educator's concern with information storage are readily apparent. Consider, for example, our typical way of handling a construct such as theory. Somewhere along the way, most students of communication learn a catechism about theory: they dutifully recite that a theory should be logically consistent, parsimonious, heuristic, and capable of being falsified. It is perfectly possible, however, to store these items of information without acquiring the slightest understanding of a scientific theory as a set of rules for processing information and deriving hypotheses. If asked to do so, how many

students could construct a hypothetical-deductive theory, a systems theory, or a theory grounded in instantation? For that matter, how many could take a notion such as dissonance theory, explicate the major propositions of the theory, and specify the logical and empirical characteristics of those propositions? Note that I am not demanding the creation of an original theory, but only a basic understanding of the information processing characteristics of extant theories. To contend that most students would do a poor job on this assignment is not to indict the learner, but rather the teacher. We need to spend more time confronting students with challenging problems associated with the information processing dimensions of a theory and place less emphasis on the rote storage of a set of relatively meaningless, experimentially empty rules. Moreover, the same thing applies to many of the other concepts that we teach. To have memorized a definition of the concept, operational definition, does not ensure that one can process information in ways calculated to enable him to create a good operational definition. To be able to recite the findings of the 95 previous studies dealing with counterattitudinal advocacy does not guarantee a command of information processing sufficient to produce a significant 96th study -- nor for that matter, to combine and to synthesize the results of the other 95.

So, the thrust of my remarks can be succinctly summarized as follows: First, I contend that an educational system which views man primarily as a storer of information is an expensive, outmoded relic, largely out-of-touch with the technological advances and the human needs of late twentieth-century American society. Second, I argue that the important educational questions of today -- and for that matter, of any generation -- center on matters of information processing. Third, notwithstanding what I believe to be the validity of propositions one and two, I assert that much of contemporary communication education is predicated upon a view of man as information storer, rather than information processor. And fourth, and rhetorically most important, I present these propositions for your consideration because it is you, the intellectual and educational leaders of tomorrow, who are in a position to alleviate this fundamental shortcoming, who can construct communication curricula and programs that assert the hegemony of man's information processing role.

I cannot close without commenting on the attack of cognitive inconsistency occasioned by the preparation of these remarks. For as long as I can remember, friends and acquaintances have commented on my information storage capacity -- after all, why should one remember the name of an obscure postal clerk like Theodore Nadler. It is certainly ego threatening to admit to oneself that a particular mental skill is of limited, secondary significance. Partially to salve my ego and partially to soften the sting of my remarks, I want to say that I have not sought to imply that human information storage is of no significance. Obviously, a modicum of memory is a necessary condition for the successful undertaking of any information processing task. Moreover, numerous points can be scored in barroom and coffee shop rap sessions by calling up obscure items of trivial information. But what I have sought to underscore is that information storage is the handmaiden, while information processing is the acknowledged sovereign. Perhaps through the efforts of people like yourselves, tomorrow's communication education system will reflect this fundamental fact.

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TOWARD DISCIPLINING OUR DISCIPLINE

Craig Aronoff
University of Pennsylvania

We are blessed and we are cursed by our identification with the label: "communication." We cannot claim to have discovered it, invented it, systemized it or even trademarked it. In short, it is not ours; and while we may do with it what we please, so may anyone else. Nonetheless, though we disagree on its exact meaning, we have agreed by our adoption of this label that communication is the best description for our particular field of academic endeavor, our academic discipline.

One of the problems of the label "communication" is that it is vague. Communication is both a ubiquitous and fundamental social activity; and as such, it can serve either as an explanation for anything, or as a universal enigma. By a similar token, the category "discipline" is amorphous and seemingly arbitrary. Disciplines are scholarly men's attempts to ignore those aspects of knowledge that they are not particularly interested in, or academic bureaucrats' efforts to construct pyramidic monuments.

To argue for such a monstrous idea seems self-defeating on the face of it. But Renaissance man is no more. The last man who reputedly knew all there was to know died several centuries ago. We are clearly specialists already generating specialties with our special field.

I am arguing that the study of our own particular subject area, constitutes one of those amorphous and seemingly arbitrary categories. It hardly seems worthy of our time and trouble -- but I contend that this is the most efficient way of meeting a highly competitive situation in which we have certain distinct advantages and disadvantages.

We compete in two major areas: with our sister social sciences for brainpower both in the form of students attracated by various communication departments, and in the form of faculty talents that join communication staffs; and with all other disciplines for funds from assorted sources and in terms of priorities within various universities. Our major

disadvantages are that we are a young field (though this can be used to our advantage), and we are misunderstood. Like the ecology problem, we face unfortunate overexposure while still being underexposed. Everyone, it seems, is talking about us. Everything is "a problem of communication," and everyone knows that. But try to imagine turning that into a concrete academic discipline or trying to explain to the average layman in 25 words or less what it means to be a student of communications. If you are getting a Ph.D. in physics, you are obviously a physicist -- in sociology, a sociologist -- but in communication:

> "Oh -- you're going to be a telephone operator."
>
> "Does that mean you're going to be a disc jockey?"
>
> "Well, we need better educated journalists to help us understand what's going on in this mixed-up world and to give some fair and unbiased reporting to the President."

Why does the average layman matter? Perhaps there are those among us who would say: "The public be damned!" But it is necessary to remember that even insulated, isolated academia has one foot in the marketplace. We depend on the public for support of our institutions. Our funds, indeed our students and faculty, are ultimately products of that public. Furthermore, as a part of educational institutions, part of our responsibility is to educate the general public: to protect, maintain, expand and dissiminate the knowledge of our society.

Much like a political candidate or a new product, we must establish our credibility, differentiate ourselves from our competition and prove our potential worth. In this endeavor, we must aim at at least two target audiences: a general public, and a public comprised of our academic colleagues. We might consider these in terms of external and internal relations.

In terms of the former, we are heavily dependent on the mass media, and here, we face the same problems as its other users. Most of the time, we don't produce "breaking news" and when we do, the media don't have the time or space for proper background, for

letting the public know what we do. Professor so-and-so is merely identified as a "communication expert," whatever that is.

A few books produced by communication scientists have reached the public and been well received -- but too often they are received in the style of crash diets. The public image of so-called "body Language" is a case in point. Rather than being seen as an important scientific accomplishment in terms of the understanding of human interaction, "Body language" is seen as a means to instant sexual gratification through a secret power to "know" without asking.

Even in encyclopedias, an educational tool which maintains a largely "popular" audience format, we are shortchanged. Articles on "communication," even those by our old friend Wilbur Schramm, make no mention of its study as a social science.

But we are making progress. Each time a communication scientist testifies before a governmental commission; when they appear on local television programs to discuss the ramifications of other TV programs; when people understand that they can send and receive messages of which they are unaware and turn to communication scientists to analyze their interactions; when communication consultants are called into industry to deal with human problems rather than merely designing a more effecient telephone system; and when the popular media make a real effort to explain to the public what all this stuff about violence on television or the potential social manifestations of cable television means, it is a triumph for communication science.

But internally, we face a different kind of problem. Here we deal with a different kind of public, a tougher public, with which we cannot be content to be on the periphery of consciousness.

TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CREDIBILITY

It might be well argued that the best way to establish credibility is by producing results. But other means also have value. Much of the thrust of the study of history, for instance, has been done in the search for credibility. A sense of our own history is particularly important in terms of our self-credibility.

When I talk about the history of communication science, I am not talking necessarily about Sapir and Whorf, or Lippman, or Lasswell, or Lewin, or the Mathematical Theory of Communications. Rather, the roots of the study of human communication, like the roots of so much of Western knowledge, are found among the early Greeks, particularly in their interest in the process of perception, in persuasion and in public address. Perhaps we should begin with Alcmaeon of Crotona (550-500 B.C.) who was the first to assert that the brain is the organ of vision, hearing and mind, or more importantly, who first distinguished between sensation and its impression on the mind. However, Alcmaeon never attempted to place his observations in a larger social context. This was to be provided by Plato who observed that the products of man do not bring themselves into existence but exist through action within a living community.

Very briefly, Aristotle's other contributions to communication science includes the first assertion that man is by nature a social being, the recognition of the role of the social environment in the development of the individual, the view of behavior in terms of interaction between organism and environment, and the most accurate understanding of the nature of sensation up to his time.

Cooley points out that communication is "the psycho-social basis of all human association," this in his Introductory Sociology (1938). At first, this domain was called social psychology, exemplified by the work of G. G. Mead, (1934); but later, due to the continued input of cultural anthropology, political science, acoustics, optics, psysiology, linguistics, education, information science, cybernetics, etc., it could only be described as communication, a new and hybrid science.

So our new discipline is an old one. Age, in itself, does not establish credibility. The world's oldest profession is not its most honorable. But put in this perspective, communication must be seen as deserving of its status in the academic community.

TOWARD DIFFERENTIATING OURSELVES FROM OUR COMPETITION

In the brief discussion of the history of our discipline, we began to demonstrate the ways in which it is distinct from other disciplines. But it is necessary to do this in more than an historic sense. It is imperative that we also make these distinctions in terms of current and projected research. And the area of mass media research, for instance. Political science, sociology, advertising, social psychology and other disciplines have looked into the mass media. But from the perspective of the communication discipline, mass media research must be done in terms of mass communication. We must not be interested in the media merely as institutions, nor with tactics of manipulating mass behavior. Our job, using the material produced by our colleagues in other fields, is to understand mass communication in its social, cultural, psychological and informational capacities in given behavioral systems and sub-systems. Examples of this include the work on cultural indicators now being carried on at the Annenberg School in which our society's cultural pulse is being abstracted from its circulatory system of messages (if you will forgive the anamonical analogy), and more historically, the "gatekeeper" studies and Personal Influence by Lazarfild and Katz. Each of these deal with mass media in a communicational sense within a larger system without abstracting a particular social, cultural, psychological or informational dimension of the media. Functional analyses of mass media, like those done by Charles Wright, however, are a good example of what a sociologist does when studying mass media, in that he abstracts mass media as an institution and asks its practical function. This is only one example, but it demonstrates that communication research is related to, but distinct from, research done in its sister social sciences.

And so it goes: from art, through zoology, and stopping at critical junctures ranging from electrical engineering to speech pathology and business management. In each case, it is possible to say how communication is relevent and valuable to a particular discipline and why that particular discipline has been valuable to communication scientists. However, it is also quite possible to state how and why communication is not that particular discipline. This gives us a cybrenetic, rather than causal, explanation of communication in which we discover what we are by saying what we are not.

TOWARD PROVING OUR POTENTIAL WORTH

The particular problem of our discipline's subject matter, that communication is ubiquitous and a fundamental social activity, presents us with unique opportunities as well. At times our work, and the work of other social scientists, is dismissed as the mere codification of common sense. And as we deal with human behavior, it is true that communication science and common sense often tread the same ground. But as Bateson has stated, "Our unscientific knowledge of the diverse facets of human nature is prodigious, but only when this knowledge has been set in a scientific framework shall we be able to hope for new ideas and theories." (1956, p. 264)

In developing such a scientific framework, however, we run aground on another of the problems of social science. Are we to use the physical sciences as our model in developing this framework? Does this framework have to look like the atomic tables when it is done in order to achieve validity?

As Bateson has also recognized, it is a fallacy to think that the less articulate levels of the mind, and the operations of culture or society, are as discriminating and as precise as the scientist. Simply, we are not able to attack social phenomena in the manner by which the physicist attacks the atom. And there is no reason that we should. By developing new perspectives and methodology within the scientific tradition, communication science can make a tremendous contribution to science as a whole.

But to do this, our young science requires tremendous freedom, perhaps even to slightly stray from the strictly scientific mold. As we do, we are likely to contribute heavily to the philosophy of science.

Some of the most valuable work being done in communication today -- including the recent and current work of Goffman, Bateson, Birdwhistell, Hall and the like -- cannot be seen as unadulterated science. Rather, much of this work conforms to "scientific philosophy" in Reichenbach's sense of the term. All new sciences and the frontiers of old sciences are characterized by scientific philosophy, but because our subject area is communications, we have particular potential.

As a case in point, let us consider Birdwhistell's "kinesics." Birdwhistell's systematic delineation of the physical dimension of interpersonal interaction has brought about a new understanding of human communicative capacity and caused some rethinking of old notions and concepts including those of individuality, the role of culture in human communication and the nature of the message component of the communicative process. Kinesics is the product of scientific observation and description and can be, therefore, categorized as a product of "science"; however, the basis of kinesics, the perspective that allowed Birdwhistell to "see" kinesics, is derived from a social philosophical tradition that Birdwhistell has also elaborated and carried forward. Having roots in the social scientific philosophy of George Herbert Mead, Birdwhistell's social scientific philosophy may, as in the case of Mead, be his greatest contribution.

Birdwhistell's work is also based on an interesting social application of the scientific concept of the laboratory. Naturally, control is a difficulty in social scientific investigation, particularly when one brings his subjects into the laboratory, seeking to isolate them from the outside world. This is an impossible task, of course, because the subjects bring the outside world in with them. However, if the laboratory is viewed as flexible, rather than static, and a tool rather than a dictator, it can assume a new role in social research. In a social sense, the validity of the laboratory rests on the skill of the researcher in

ascertaining and defining it. If this is adequately done, control ceases to be a serious consideration. The most obvious example of this methodological perspective is the work of cultural anthropologists and their results contributing to the understanding of cross-cultural communications, but it is equally applicable to organizational communications and group communication.

Granted, such methodology does not guarantee the precision with which chemists mix hydrogen, oxygen and heat to get water; but then, the chemist is working with a sub-system of the physical universe that has far fewer variables than any isolable social sub-system. And granted, such methodology does not conform to the letter of the law of scientific methods; but as long as we thoroughly train researchers in such methodology and insist on the maintenance of a keenly disciplined scientific perspective, such methodology will continue to prove itself of tremendous value.

As social sceintists involved in a discipline called communication, we are heirs to a rich tradition and are faced with a tremendous challenge. Thanks to our discipline's subject material, its unique position among the sciences, and its philosophical and method-ological resources, those of us working within it stand a chance to uncover and delineate the basic structure of human behavior, not in the effort to manipulate it, but to understand it. I am now talking about the pursuit of knowledge in its pure and theoritical sense.

Our society's crying need for this knowledge is both a help and a hinderence. While the pressure spurs us on, it destroys the rarified atmosphere in which physical scientists are often allowed to work. Nobody stood over Newton's shoulder screaming that everything was a problem of mechanics. Three hundred years elapsed between his formulation of the laws and their application in terms of orbiting artificial satellites, but our situation is different. Social workers, educators, clinical social psychologists, and others will jump on our every breakthrough. More power to them; but at the same time, they make our job more difficult and add yet another dimension to the challenge con-fronting us.

The challenge of communication is ours. To meet it, we must discipline ourselves and discipline our discipline, in ways in which scientists, and scientific disciplines have never disciplined before.

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN SMALL GROUP COMMUNICATION

Karen S. Tattrie
Wayne State University

The relevance of small group research to the field of group communication depends in large measure on adopting criteria of conceptual parameters for production of an underlying theoretical framework. Mortenson (1970) has suggested that such a framework should fuse literature "based on group process, group dynamics, group forces, group discussion, group skills, group performance, group interaction, and group communication, to clear up terminological issues and instill a unifying force." Although small group research rarely is conducted from a communication orientation, it is a misnomer to assert that because the roots of small group study were planted by respected social psychologists and sociologists, that the credit must forever be generated within those realms. Investigation of communication in small groups can add to a research framework, without assuming the burden of synthesizing all ingredients within small group processes. Speech communication is more than a compilation of other disciplines; the approach chosen by the researcher in selecting methods for research should determine whether or not an issue falls within the parameters of small group communication. Whereas the social psychologist is likely to limit the study of performance effectiveness to analysis of final group outputs, the communication researcher needs to orient his description and evaluation to the "process" undergone during the subsequent study. Such orientations are not justified by reference to much of the literature collected, reviewed, and synthesized extensively by Roseborough (1953), Rieken and Homan (1954), Hare Borgatta, and Bales (1955), and Cartwright and Zander (1960), nor by categorization of research topics according to the arbitrarily-designated major variables for organizing indices in Hare's cookbook in small group research.

Neither is it the design of group communication scholars to systematically exclude useful information within the parameters drawn by McGrath and Altman in five years of criteria investigation. However, the objective advanced by McGrath and Altman is to

predict theoretically "the probability of association between any two variables (Altman, 1966, pp. 68)." Thus, the classification system wherein the object, mode, and source viewpoint parameters are considered worthy of refinement, aids in examining the confounding variables in small group processes during communication interaction.

Subsequently, it is the task of small group communication to develop unique criteria for constructing theory from data produced by small group interactions. Such criteria necessitates careful discrimination in selecting for interpretation and generalization into theory empirical trials which clearly control non-communication variables during the interaction process. Behavioral changes not directly attributed to interaction ought not constitute basis for theory-building for a field explicating a process-orientation.

The Status of Current Research

In retrospective analysis of small group studies, it has been popular to draw tentative conclusions by generalizing among studies which have a minimum degree of similarity to one another. Yet since complexity characterizes communication interaction processes, researchers have appeased practitioners by supplying simplistic descriptions of the communication process in small groups. Lacking the ability to demonstrate validity of cookbook recipes for leadership training and the attainment of consensus within a small group format, the tentative conclusions distort data which eventually may have led to predictable levels of reliability. It is advantageous to admit our lack of empirical refinement and insist that research published in the area of small group communication be fundamentally consistent with the dimensions of the field, before accepting justifications for such research on the assumption that subsequent knowledge relative to communication in a particular format will be generated from computer-assisted thinking.

Generating such knowledge from abstract notions, continuing a collection of data in support of predispositions imposed by each research author, accepting arbitrary categories

for systematically generalizing among studies of a diverse nature, and claiming celebrity among professional colleagues for a quantity rather than a quality of research publications in communication, are tactics which will perpetuate our inability to develop a theoretical framework in small group communication which incorporates validity and reliability into the power of prediction.

Directions for Future Research

Empirical refinement is the outcome of operational redefinition, technological sensitization, and rational implementation. Communication scientists are on the threshold of a unique and insightful approach to human interaction which will not be realized until discontent with superficial analysis pervades assessment of each small group communication experiment. Since decades of inadequate research have failed to produce a sound framework for group communication theory, those investigations must be tediously replicated to assure that the recorded interaction of variables is not misleading. Criteria for redesigning studies is the topic of the following portion of this paper.

Selection of the Problem Area. Typically, pressure from administrative sources in educational institutions is the impetus for research endeavors. Often teachers must justify their position in the university organization by appearing to professionally extend knowledge in at least one specific area of their field. Occasionally, worthwhile investigations are conducted, regardless of the catalyst initiating the scholarly efforts. Plastic reputations are dangerous to development of theory in group communication, since individuals reknown for a quantity of published articles and books camouflage significant studies. Too often "common-sense doctrines (Boreman, 1970)" are the targets for statistical comparison since they are secure investments for significant results. Reputations are often publicized for sensational implications claimed on the basis of a crude pilot study. Although justifying an experiment on paper prior to measuring variables does not provide better rationale for the study than concluding absolute significance after statistical comparison, the experimenter must suspect the interaction between two or more variables for an observable

reason before searching for a theoretical framework to justify the research among his colleagues. Provided with no substantial principles in group communication, the experimenter contaminates his ethical environment by pretending to base his investigation on a series of crude pilot studies.

Future research in group communication can avoid these pitfalls. First, the problem area in group communication should be interaction. Volumes of sociological data reflect trends in traits of a leader, educational background of group members, and size of groups as an influence to the type of decision achieved. Group communication specialists ought to employ that information in construcing situations for interaction. Isolated variables should seemingly relate to the degree, timing, and satisfaction with the process of concensus among group members. Secondly, overt verbal and nonverbal behavior must be intuitively reconstructed from observed experiences, and it is important that published data be accompanied by an explanation of the process of isolating variables.

Such a rationale for assuming a relationship between isolated variables is often mistakenly accepted as justification for the study. Group communication researchers must demand significance from the scope of study as well as from statistical analysis. Justifications for research must be (1) unique to the investigations of the interaction of isolated variables within the proposed study, and be (2) feasibly attained directly from the experimental format. Thus, a general statement suggesting that the experiment will increase knowledge for future research is insufficient justification for group communication, since it fails to assert the placement of the data in a developing theoretical framework.

Logistics of the Study. Selecting appropriate operational definitions and employing techniques sensitive to interaction effects among communication variables are fundamental validifying factors of small group studies for group communication theory. Experimental procedures confound statistical analysis and application of data when the methods of study are maladapted for a group interaction approach. Much elementary literature in communication gives voice to propositions of "process" transmission of ideas between sources and

receivers and "receiver-oriented" messages during interaction. Nevertheless, research in group communication mocks the distinctions claimed by speech-communication personnel.

The following logistical suggestions are desireable not for their ability to replace procedures established by tradition in small group research, but rather as additive features which assure that small group studies are consistent with the dimensions of group communication before experimental conclusions are held in theoretical esteem.

1. Appropriate selection of subjects. Use of basic course students for experimental subjects is often defensible as random samples from the population, regardless of divergencies on the basis of age and economic stutus. The desireability of laboratory research for comparison to field samples allows the researcher to admit sources of error from sampling, and yet provide data which is comparable to other university-based research. The format of small group communication imposes a far greater difficulty. Small groups operate within a context in society generally referenced as organizations. Organizational pressures from status relationships, lines of communication, position of small group in the hierarchy of the organization, and purpose of the organization complex differentiate small groups from each other. It is now known whether factors generalizable to all small group contexts perdictably regulate the communication systems, and how the communication patterns regulate levels of consensus among group members. Thus, selections of subjects within specific organizational conditions must be (1) specified by research conditions, and (2) consistent with the rationale for study, even if selection of appropriate subjects is inconvenient.

2. Appropriate selection of measurement. Until recently, small group researchers could resort to measurements of Bales' Interaction Process Analysis (Bales IPA, 1950) and other instruments which assume unidimensionality of message elements, and thus fail to yield parametric data. An instrument developed in 1971 titled Interaction Behavior Measurement (Wright & McCroskey IBM, 1971) overcomes prior methodological barriers, and should be tested within specific organizational structures to assure that status relationships are not confounding variables in detection of differences among the dimensions.

When achievement in group communication can be measured consistently with process-orientations, use of linear instruments are inexcusable. Furthermore, researchers should not be content until interactive effects are accounted for directly within the context of the experimental setting.

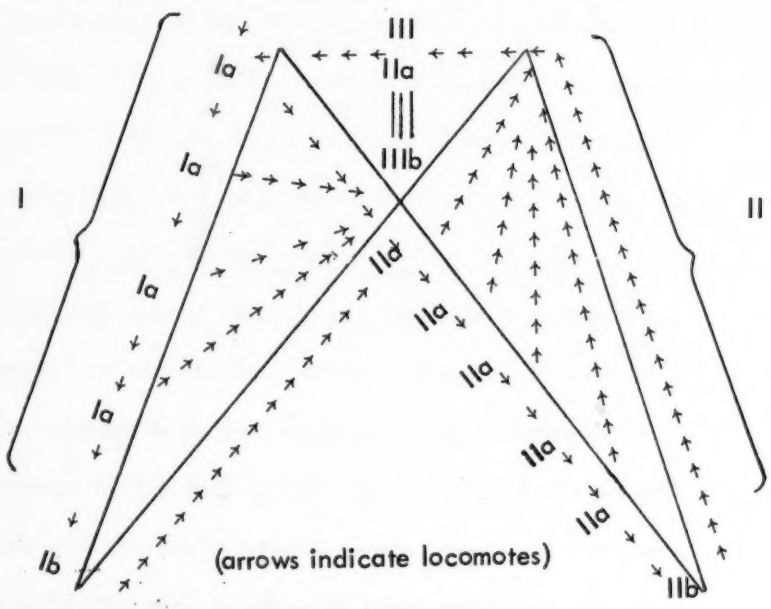
Technological sensitization is required in accounting for levels of consensus, before experimentally-created small groups produce comparable data. Consensus can be reached regarding certain policy-decisions in the task realm, regarding administrative patterns in intergroup relations, and regarding socio-emotional affectations of each member toward the others and toward the group as a whole. Productivity is not a one-shot attempt, but rather a process of adjustment between the socio-emotional realm and the task realm. When morale levels are observedly too low, the vacuum in the socio-emotional realm hampers procedural functioning, which causes barriers in achieving consensus on questions of policy in the task realm. A cycle is perpetuated by locomotes, until the productivity level necessary for task fulfillment for that particular group is reached. The following paragidm may be useful for conceptualization of the process-orientation in small group communication, although the relationships between conceptual items are at this point speculative

KEY:

I - Task realm
  a - issue consensus
  b - task fulfillment

II - Socio-emotional realm
  a - agreement on s-e goals
  b - morale levels

III - Procedural function
  a - high level of cohesion
  b - low level of cohesion



Accounting for such levels of consensus (and determining if these conceptual parameters do exist) are targets for future refinement of measuring instruments.

3. Consistent experimental setting. Several criteria measures regulating the experimental setting have already been discussed. First, a low degree of cohesion among group members may adversely affect the existence of a "group mind," which may be the function of either time for group development or an undetermined factor. These factors must at this point be speculative, and the researcher should attempt to control the time of measurement and other verbal and nonverbal elements which could have contaminating influences. Secondly, an appropriate task is fundamental in creating incentive for concern over a mutual goal among group members, and subjectively can be controlled between experiments by providing tasks which are not achieveable by a single individual. Thus, cooperation should be a distinguishing feature of task evaluation for the experimental setting, until sociological principles of small group research are made generalizable to status positions among group members. Behavioral designs should closely resemble realistic settings, and thus small group contexts must be recreated under sterile conditions through simulation and control over intervening variables.

The process approach to small group communication is complex. Many fields employing the small group as an entity are enchanted with the expectation that a group of individuals who are physically situated in a semi-circle will produce more expedient and productive decisions. It is the responsibility of group communication experts to adjust the over-simplified mannerisms of other disciplines, and begin a devotion to each experimental relationship beyond the scope of a two-hour laboratory session. Groups are products of time, and the process nature of groups demands consistent evaluation. Observations extended to provide insight into interaction at points in the development of contextual groups are worthwhile if predictable indices from statistical comparison are desired.

4. Useful application of data. Data is frequently gathered in a particular context, but the utility of the information is too often generalized to different status relationships. Another source of error in interpretation of results is the superficial survey of research in areas of the field, wherein experimental contexts are disregarded, and researchers provide

practitioners with generalized principles, claiming to support those predictions with empirical wisdom. It is perhaps preferable to avoid generalizations which claim validity until the field of group communication can construct a series of experimental procedures, operational definitions, and contextual circumstances which will allow flexibility and utility for all small group communication researchers. Finally, after each experiment has been replicated to resolve discrepancies between possible intervening variables, the researcher can be confident that he has yielded data worthy of interpretation within the theoretical framework of small group communication.

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PRACTICAL APPLICATION: A NEGLECTED DIMENSION IN INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Paul C. Feingold
Purdue University

Great emphasis is being placed upon developing a theory of communication. During the past decade, colleges and universities have been producing many graduates capable of doing the research necessary to develop a theory of communication. These young professionals along with their professors have made and are making contributions to our knowledge of the communication process.

Many capable men and women in the field have written essays urging more research designed toward building a comprehensive theory of communication. Other equally competent scholars have claimed such a theory of the communication process can never be formulated.

Regardless of whether or not a formulated theory of communication does exist or ever will exist, there is a vast body of research findings from which we can and do draw inferences; these findings provide guidelines designed to teach ourselves and others how to be better communicators. But, what do these guidelines tell us? What can we do with these guidelines? It is not enough to be empirical experts. We must be able to do more than tell advice-seekers that high credible sources need to use less evidence than do low credible sources; or, that a curvilinear relationship exists between the amount of fear appeal and its saliency to the recipient. Such academic exhortations do not immediately lend themselves to practical, problematic situations. For instance, how do we help the parent or school administrator convince young people not to experiment with drugs?

The following is an excerpt of what might be a typical dialogue between a communicologist and a person seeking the best way to communicate to young people that they should not experiment with drugs:

Advice-seeker: We are trying to develop a program designed to convince young people that they should avoid drugs. Can you help?

Communicologist: Certainly. Here is a new book by Dr. Hocus Pocus; he is a leading authority on the theories of persuasion and attitude change. His book will tell you all you need to know. (Looks at watch.)

Advice-seeker: (Shifting in seat.) Thank you. I'll read the book, but can you also give me some practical advice?

Communicologist: (Smiling.) Oh! You want me to be prescriptive. Well, the literature shows that you should probably find a source that is perceived as being credible by the receivers of the message. As you construct your messages, remember that a highly credible source doesn't need to use as much evidence as a neutral source. One other thing for you to keep in mind when writing your messages is that if you decide to use a fear appeal, remember that the literature indicates that a curvilinear relationship probably exists between the amount of fear appeal and its saliency to the recipient. (Looks at watch again.)

Advice-seeker: (Frowning and scratching his head.) But, how do I determine the credibility of my source? How do I know how much evidence the source needs to use? How do I determine the saliency of a fear appeal? I'm a little confused.

Communicologist: That's easy, just do some pretesting or run a pilot study. (Looking at watch.) I don't want to be rude, but I have to teach a persuasion and attitude change class in five minutes. I'm glad I could be of service to you. Next time you have a communication problem, feel free to drop by and see me.

What has been described is possibly an exaggeration -- or is it? What is that communicologist going to attempt to teach his students? What is the book written by Dr. Hocus Pocus going to tell the person to whom it has been recommended? Dr. Hocus Pocus and the professor are going to report on the research findings and the theories of persuasion and attitude change. The individual interested in maximizing his communication skills in a specific situation can only look at the research findings and then scratch his head. They do not even tell who should say what, let alone how, when, where, or why to say it. All that the research and theories do is to describe, at best, normative findings and rather general communicative guidelines. The average person may understand the principle behind the guidelines, but the principle is too abstract for him to effectively operationalize.

Many communicologists can and often do put the guidelines to use in a pragmatic manner. But it is usually done for a consulting fee (or as a helping gesture to someone the communicologist knows). Very seldom do we undertake research programs to determine the combination of elements that are effective in communicating an idea in a specific situation; but, instead, we randomnly and haphazardly select ideas for research from an infintesimal array of potential topics or problems.

What I am proposing in this paper is not that we abandon research aimed at building a theory of communication, but that we also delve into an area of research that has long been neglected because it "doesn't add to theory." The area of research that I address myself to may not contribute directly to theory-building, but it will add a new emphasis to the study of communication. This dimension I am referring to might be labelled pragmatism, practical application, "cookbook technology" or, more commonly, applied research.

Applied research may take a specific communication problem (e.g., anti-drug persuasion) and manipulate different combinations of elements until a stable prediction of the best combination(s) of elements can be achieved. This does not mean that we should indiscriminantly manipulate communication elements until we accidentally stumble across what appears to be the right combination(s) of elements. The researchers working on a cure for cancer are certainly not randomly combining elements until they find a cure for cancer. They are carefully sifting through the elements that are known to have some effect on retarding cancer and systematically combining and/or refining those elements until a solution to the problem can be suggested.

We in communication can do the same type of research by systematically applying emperically-derived communicative elements to specific communication problems. Granted, the theoretical base from which we are working may be less than stable and to make predictions based upon it may be risky. However, it seems that we are knowledgeable enough in some areas (e.g., source credibility, fear arousal, feedback, etc.) to make intelligent applications to real-life communication situations.

To illustrate what is meant by a real-life communication situation, I would like to briefly describe a research program in which I am currently involved. The research question is: "How can we best communicate the dangers of drug abuse to high school students?" The purpose of the program is to discover what combination(s) of communication elements are most effective in communicating to high school students the dangers of drug abuse. This is being done by carefully studying the research findings to date and manipulating those findings (in an experimental setting) until communication elements can be derived which will successfully communicate the dangers of drug abuse.

The results of the research will hopefully allow the researcher to make recommendations in the area of anti-drug persuasion for choosing among communicative strategies (i.e., what should and what should not be said).

I believe that applied research will be beneficial to the field of communication in four ways:

1. A meaningful contribution to society can be made. One of the precepts which underlies our role as communicologists is that we can teach people how to improve their communication skills in specific situations, unless the specific situation is ungeneralizable. Applied research will allow the communicologist to make a meaningful contribution to society, for instance, by teaching the parent how to communicate with his child (i.e., what to say, how to say it, and when to say it). We must go beyond handing a parent a textbook written to teach people how be be better communicators in general, and tell the parent, "We have done research in the area of parent and child communication and here are some specific suggestions that may help you improve your communications with your child."

2. Added prestige to the field. By conducting research which has practical utility we will bring added prestige to the field which in turn will be rewarded by additional money being allocated to departments of communication at colleges and universities in the form of increased budgets and research grants.

3. Demand for our services will increase. As we develop more acuity for giving advice on how to solve a specific communication problem, demand for our services as teachers and scholars will increase, bringing with it added employment which will in turn give us greater latitude in choosing the position and salary that best meets our needs as individuals.

4. New research ideas will be generated. Research in pragmatically applied areas will generate new research ideas and new postulates that can add to the development of a theory of communication, a theory that is induced from situation-specific research programs.

I believe that these four benefits to the field of communication make practical applications a viable research area, worhty of the recognition of that attributed to theory-oriented research. If I have failed to interest someone in conducting applied research I hope someone will undertake a research program designed to give me specific guidelines on how to effectively communicate my thoughts on this subject.

A NEW DIRECTION FOR INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH: FORWARD

Henry Nicholson
Michigan State University

I have entitled this paper "A New Direction for Interpersonal Communication Theory and Research: Forward," and before proceeding I feel I should explain my choice of titles. By suggesting that forward would be a new direction for scholarly endeavor in this field, I don't mean to sarcastically imply that the field has been moving backward; nor is my intention to demean the past work done in the field. Instead, I am suggesting that a fair description of the direction of research in the field of interpersonal communication, since its inception as a social science, is outward. In what is essentially a normal fashion for a developing field of scientific study, research in interpersonal communication has covered an increasingly broad range of aspects of human interaction from a multiplicity of viewpoints, which have been generally based upon theories borrowed from other fields. Research studies have ranged from assessing the success of various persuasive strategies to assessing degrees of ideological coorientation of communicants; from intensive analyses of the dynamics of specific dyadic role combinations to general mapping of group communication dynamics; from studies in which the internal psychological states of the participants comprise the central research focus to those in which the behavioral effects of communication upon the participants are the center of attention.

I call this expanding range of interests normal because it seems to fit the historical pattern of development of other scientific disciplines. Modern physics, for example, began with Newton's investigations of phenomena now labeled mechanics, and expanded its range of investigations to include the study of electricity, magnetism, heat, and even atomic structure, so that at present its scope of study ranges from atoms to astronomy. Such fields as chemistry, biology, psychology, and most other scientific disciplines and their subfields have undergone similar expansion phases in their early development.

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We can correctly infer from the common occurrence of this process that the initial development of a field of scientific inquiry is seldom accomplished through the creation or discovery of a single guiding principle which governs all relationships within that field and bounds the scope of legitimate study; but rather it is accomplished by a number of researchers, each forming explanations on a lower level about a particular area which he finds of interest. Such explanations, while useful for further research within the respective areas from which they were derived, are usually related to each other only in that they apply to subject matter studied under the same disciplinary title.

The range of past research in interpersonal communication has implicitly defined the boundary of the field, and because of the multiplicity of areas of investigation and of approaches to those areas this boundary is rather far-reaching and not easily explicated. Most researchers in the field seem to "know" what interpersonal communication is, yet have difficulty stating a definition which makes a conceptual distinction between interpersonal communication and other sub-fields of communication or even communication in general. The broad range of studies performed under the rubric of interpersonal communication implies that there has been no single explicit conceptualization governing the direction of research in the field, and indeed we would be hard pressed to find one.

In his book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn postulates that the paradigm -- an unprecedented and open-ended principle -- is the building block of scientific disciplines, and argues that 'shared paradigms', or conceptualizations and theories which a number of scientists hold in common, are a pre-requisite to mature development of a discipline. The natural course of the initial development of the field of interpersonal communication has so far been structured by a great number of low-level paradigms -- low-level in the sense that they tend to be situation specific and account for occurrences only within the context of some particular area of investigation within the field. What the field has not produced is an explicit conceptualization of interpersonal communication which can meaningfully guide investigation, nor theories which unite and replace the various lower level paradigms with more parsimonious explanation and greater heuristic value.

I am proposing that the field of interpersonal communication is approaching a critical point in its development. Up to the present, its development can be characterized as an exploratory and expansion period. Researchers have implicitly defined the boundary of the field by studying a spectrum of aspects of the interpersonal communicative process from a broad range of approaches. Interpersonal communication has been viewed from psychological, sociological, and biological viewpoints. Attempts have been made to apply theories from economics, education, and physics. Researchers have examined in detail the medium, the message, the interactants, and the environment. They have examined interpersonal interaction to determine its causes and effects, its function and its pattern, its quality and its quantity. While a great deal of knowledge of the subject has been generated in the process, the growth of our understanding of the subject and our power to explain it have been largely a function of the fact that the field was in its relative infancy, and that this knowledge replaced ignorance, rather than a previous, less sophisticated understanding of the subject. But because few aspects of what is considered to be interpersonal communication are left unexplored, future research which employs this focus on exploration of interpersonal communication at a relatively concrete level, is likely to provide diminishing returns in terms of understanding and explanation. Further progress and continued growth of our field will be dependent upon a modification of the focus of our research. Kuhn also suggests that sustained growth in a scientific field depends upon replacement of paradigms which have reached a saturation point with newer paradigms which have broader explanatory and heuristic power. Thus established and progressive fields of scientific endeavor can be characterized historically by a succession of paradigms which are accepted by increasing numbers of scholars within the field. While Kuhn calls such a succession of paradigms a revolution, no violence is done to the field. The succession is revolutionary only in the vistas which it opens and the growth which it allows.

The change of research focus I am proposing could perhaps be called more accurately a broadening of focus. If the focus of past research in interpersonal communication can fairly be characterized as concern with the tenability of the specific hypotheses a researcher is testing; then our new focus should include not only that concern, but also a concern for the conceptual base from which we are operating, and a concern for the theoretical implications of the data we gather. In other words, we should expand our research goals to include not only investigation for the purpose of exploration, but also investigation for the purposes of conceptual and theoretical unification. Such a change involves a conscious search for conceptualizations and theories which encompass the various aspects of the field, and a subsequent realignment of our knowledge under these paradigms. What we, as the next generation of interpersonal communication researchers, should be striving toward is a systematic unification of our knowledge about interpersonal communication through the construction of paradigms conducive to wider sharing by researchers than our present ones. This will require a conceptual delineation of our field within which we can comfortably work and theories behind our research which we can reasonably share. To describe our situation by analogy, we have up to the present, explored the boundary of our territory; our next job is to find the habitable regions which will permit our living and producing together. This change of focus is not proposed in a sense of urgency or alarm, for I think our field is of too great importance to society to die from a slower rate of growth. Instead it is proposed as a goal toward which future research in the field can most fruitfully be oriented to maximize both our understanding and the benefit of our research to society.

As with all prescriptions, this one is more easily suggested than carried out. Unfortunately, I have neither a precise conceptual definition of interpersonal communication nor specific examples of viable theories of interpersonal communication, which would perform the prescribed function, to present for consideration. I can, however, put forth a procedural suggestion which, I feel, if implemented, will point our field toward this goal. As I mentioned above, our research should focus not only on a concern with specific

empirical findings but also on the conceptual and theoretical base from which those findings were derived. In this light, research designs which do not operate within a specified conceptual delineation of interpersonal communication and which do not indicate how the specific area of investigation relates to the broader definition do not share this broader focus. Likewise atheoretical research, or research whose theoretical base is unstated or unclear, is wasteful in that it does not share this broader focus. Further, even research designs which are explicitly derived from a stated theoretical base may not share this focus if the underlying theory is not reevaluated in light of the specific research outcome. Research which does operate with this broader focus requires first a conceptual delineation of interpersonal communication within which to work. Secondly, our future research should be grounded in explicitly stated theory, and our specific hypotheses should be derived from these theories, with the logic behind the derivation clearly indicated. In this manner, if the results of the research are as the researcher predicted, he has not only generated additional knowledge pertinent to the specific area under investigation, but he has also lent empirical strength to the theory underlying his research. If, on the other hand, the empirical result is unpredicted, the research is "unsuccessful" only in so far as the specific hypothesis is concerned. The result is still useful and the research is still "successful" in terms of theory construction, since it presents constructive information for modification of the underlying theory or evidence for the wisdom of its abandonment. Whether the theories so used are initially constructed or borrowed from another discipline is, I feel, a minor matter at this time. The procedure of committing ourselves as researchers to using theory as a source of research ideas and explanation, and reevaluating our theories in light of our research, rather than looking at theory as an after-the-fact consideration is a self-correcting process. Its implementation will empirically scrutinize the viability of theories so used. Some may be abandoned; but stronger ones will, of necessity, be constructed and/or modified to take their place. In essence, I am recommending an ecology of research procedure -- a more economical use of the tools of science -- to bring about a natural

selection of theoretical approaches to the study of interpersonal communication, which should result in an increased sharing of these approaches among researchers in the field with varied interests and specialities. I am not proposing a moratorium on further research until we have constructed a grand theory of interpersonal communication. I am suggesting that our research procedures should be consistent with the goals of our field. If our goal is to replace ignorance with insight, then research which operates at a concrete level and focuses upon specific results is acceptable. If, however, our goals are to gain a realistic understanding of our subject matter, to be able to meaningfully combine our knowledge of various aspects of this subject matter without contradictions in the underlying logic, and to determine the most fruitful theoretical approaches to our investigations, then our research must focus upon development of shared conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

We should be aware that to concentrate upon finding a single grand theory of interpersonal communication may be neither possible nor desirable. Human interaction takes a variety of forms and is affected by a range of psychological, social, and physical factors. A single source of explanation for such a phenomenon may be an unrealistic expectation. Our purpose should be instead to find theoretical explanations which can combine what have heretofore been considered unrelated findings thus offering new insights into the working of interpersonal communication and allowing the generation of research ideas which have the effect of unification rather than division.

Kuhn implies that the acquisition of shared paradigms is a mark of maturity in a scientific discipline and a succession of paradigms which are shared by an increasing number of scholars is the mark of progress. By creating a conceptual base and theoretical frameworks which can be so shared we will have achieved a unity in our field which will allow growth in a new direction and which will permit a more sophisticated and realistic understanding of interpersonal communication. This unification, I feel, will mark the passing of our field from infancy into maturity.

ABSTRACT*

APPLIED COMMUNICOLOGY

Darrell T. Piersol
Director of Personnel & Administration
I.B.M. Information Records Division

The field of organizational communication is so broad and the practical applications so diverse that in order to have a meaningful discussion together, I am limiting the scope of my remarks to problems involving change in an industrial environment. The fear of change and the resulting active resistance to change by individuals are phenonema that are continually receiving more attention as areas worthy of research by scholars from many academic disciplines.

In any dynamic organization whether it be in business, government, or other types of institutions it is accepted that managing change is a necessary way of life. The management of change is quite naturally tied in very closely to the communication process and in my opinion this is where a great percentage of the problems conceived with effectively managing change occur.

The practical problems concerned with implementing a major change are numerous and require careful planning to avoid serious pitfalls. Change, by its very nature involves some anxiety and uncertainty for the managers or administrators given responsibility for implementing the new approach since it is nearly impossible to predict all of the consequences of their actions. This concern for the unknown (based on past experience) causes many managers to communicate less and less information to their people who will be facing the problems of adapting to new conditions. As you would expect, the personnel facing a change are anxious and want more information, not less, from their management during this same time period. This dilema facing management and employees naturally leads to frustration from both parties and is a significant problem to be overcome in building an effective organizational communication approach to handling this type of situation.

In the two actual cases we discussed concerning the move of a division headquarters operation and the announcement of a new benefit plan, we had an opportunity to observe how communication theory and application come together in attempting to manage situations involving change. Detailed planning, careful consideration of the timing of announcements, sensitivity to the feelings of the management and people involved in the change, a realistic assessment of potential problems and well thought out alternatives, adequate communication with management and employees detailing the reasons for the change and the potential gain for the company and employees, etc., are all essentials in practical communicology if the change is to be implemented as smoothly as possible.

From our give and take discussion in the cases it appeared that I.C.A. student members found some comfort in hearing about the utilization of communication theory in actual practice. In managing change effectively the requirement for a broad communication systems approach was very evident because of the interrelationships of the many variables that had to be considered and resolved in managing the total process. Your field of knowledge is worthy of serious study and involves the most difficult of management tasks - the effective communication with and leadership of people.

*Editor's note: Dr. Piersol's presentation centered around two semi-confidential cases which will not be reprinted here. You may also want to write to

Dr. Piersol, c/o I.B.M. Corporation
P.O. Box 10
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

to obtain copies of his paper entitled "Non Academic Careers for Speech Communication Majors," report of the speech communication association ad hoc committee to study non-academic careers for speech communication majors.

A NEW MODEL FOR APPLIED ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

John M. Wiemann
Purdue University

This presentation deals with the way the researcher's perceptions of the business setting affect the way he does research. This is to say that the models we draw for ourselves often limit our view of "the real world." The academician and the practitioner often have different models from which they work; these different models are often responsible for lack of understanding between these two groups.

Rather than use the old staff vs. line model, it is my hypothesis that the organization might more profitably be described in terms of staff, line and service functions. This hypothesis is based on my experiences as a member of a communication department in International Business Machines Corporation and my recent consulting experiences with the Bank of America.

Before presenting this new conceptualization of the organization in detail, let me set the stage by tracing the development of the staff-line model. While I feel this model can be applied to any complex organization, I will limit my comments here to bureaucratic hierarchies common to industry.

As organizations developed and became more complex, those responsible for sustaining the organization found it necessary to hire specialists in certain areas (purchasing and accounting, for example) to handle duties that production -- that is, line -- people no longer had the time or the skill to accomplish. In true bureaucratic fashion, these specialists soon grew into departments, which subdivided and multiplied.

There is no need to document this type of growth here. Let it suffice to say that social scientists, as well as participants in the organization, recognized the interaction that characterized the relationship between these new staff functions and the older line functions. Thus developed the staff-line dichotomy. As a new unit of the organization

comes into being, it is classified as either staff or line, depending on its relation to the organization's product. Line units have exclusive authority over production processes, to use Dalton's (1950) definition, while staff units render assistance to the line "by way of advising, analyzing, recommending, assisting, etc., but refrain from exercising direct authority over line personnel" (Dubno, 1966, p. 47).

While the staff-line distinction has proven to be both useful and functional, I feel that it is at least partly responsible for preventing us from noticing differences in emerging organizational components.

In the past thirty years, organizations -- particularly industrial organizations -- have become increasingly concerned with the social and psychological needs of their members. To administer to these needs, organizations found it necessary to create new specialized units. Although, by applying the traditional model, these new units are classified as staff functions, they do not perform the research and advisory roles in relation to the line in the way that Dalton (1950) and Dubon (1966) suggest.

The primary characteristic that distinguishes these new organizational units, which I will refer to as service units, from the more traditional staff units is their relation to the organization's product or output. These units are concerned with the organization's welfare apart from the output, and thus can be considered to fill a service role. Personnel, public relations, communication, and management development are typical examples of what I'm calling service units. Traditional staff units tend to be output-oriented, even though they have no direct authority over line personnel. Like staff units, service units have no authority over line personnel, but they are concerned with administering to the social-psychological and administrative needs of the organization's personnel.

Service units fulfill what Katz and Kahn (1966) describe as a maintenance role in the organization. That is, they are charged with preserving the organization as a viable force in its environment. Service units are concerned with recruitment, socialization, rewarding

and sanctioning members of the organization, as well as carrying out the organization's administrative tasks that make it possible for the organization to adapt to its environment.

The failure to recognize service-staff distinctions stems from two causes: (1) the staff-line model of the organization, as I have mentioned, precludes such a distinction; and (2) service units may be considered subunits of the staff. However, peculiar characteristics of service units argue for a distinction between staff and service, and, therefore, a revision of the model. A quick review of staff-line relations and the extrapolation of service-line relations will allow us to bring the service unit's peculiar characteristics into sharp focus.

There is much agreement in the literature about staff-line relationships (Dalton, 1950, 1966; Dubno, 1966; Mechanic, 1962; Strauss, 1962; Walton, Dutton & Cafferty, 1969; Zald, 1962). Dalton (1966) has summed up several traditional determinants of the conflict that typify staff-line interaction:

1. Staff lacks formal authority over operations.
2. Line officers are usually older than staff officers, with the exception of old, displaced line officers now on staff.
3. There is pressure on staff to justify its existence in terms of ideas subject to rejection by the line.
4. Line salaries are higher than staff salaries for comparable positions in the hierarchy.
5. Line tolerates staff with negative overtones.
6. There is greater movement of staff officers to the line than the reverse.
7. Staff is usually deferential to the line.
8. Staff is better educated than the line.

Also, line units tended to feel threatened by staff because of staff's expertise in the area of line's prime concern (Dalton, 1966).

There is little, if anything, in the literature that directly addresses the service-line relationship. However, since service is an outgrowth of staff, it is intuitively reasonable to hypothesize that service-line relations are very similar to staff-line relations. The physical characteristics of staff and service units are similar: service participants (in the organization) are younger than the line participants, better educated, receive lower salaries, are usually deferential to the line, are tolerated by the line, and they lack formal authority over line participants. My personal experience verifies this comparison of service and line units.

While there is no evidence other than personal experience to support this contention, it is reasonable to further hypothesize that these very same comparisons could be made between the service and staff units, with service being younger, better educated, etc.

Service units are further differentiated from staff units by the people who work in them. Service participants usually do not possess technical expertise in the area of the organization's output in the same sense that line and staff participants do.

Specialists, as service participants will be referred to, as bottom participants in the organization, can be compared to bottom participants in other units. They have a great deal more latitide (that is, less supervision) than their counterparts. They are salaried, rather than hourly, employees. And they are allowed certain status symbols, usually reserved only for higher participants in other units; they may have private or semi-private offices, personal telephones, and the like.

Most specialists find that their non-technical background is a mixed blessing in their interaction with the line. On one hand, since they are non-technical, the specialist does not pose the threat to the line participant that the staff participant does. The specialist is not in a position to "interfere" with the output processes of the organization, nor is it likely that he will be in a position to replace the line participant. On the other hand, the specialist is often so far removed from the output processes that he "does not speak the same language" as the line participant. This makes productive interaction more difficult and heightens the potential for suspicion and conflict between the service and line units.

The particular roles that service units fill in the organization, i.e., maintenance, and the peculiar characteristics of their interaction with line units, are the primary distinctions between them and traditional staff units. The two types of units can best be defined by the behavior they engage in within the organization. Staff units are responsible for conducting research and advising line units on matters concerning the organization's output. In a word, they could be termed support functions. Service units are responsible for tending to the social/psychological and administrative needs of the organization. They are people, rather than output, oriented. Thus, service units in different organizations across technologies would be more similar to each other than they would be to the staff and line units within their individual organizations.

Service units are structured differently than staff and line units. Because of the type of people who compose service units and the roles they fill in the organization, service units tend to be more shallow than staff and line units. This shallow structure means that there are fewer levels between the bottom service participant and the top of the organization. There are two consequences of this structure for the service participant: he is closer to the source of information and power, and he tends to interact with people who are on a higher level than himself.

One of the results of considering the organization to be composed of staff, line and service units is that a new communication dimension is added. In addition to vertical and horizontal communication, we can now discuss diagonal communication between service participants at one organizational level and the higher line participants with whom service people normally interact. The characteristics of diagonal communication are, I propose, different than both horizontal and vertical communication, and these differences can be explained -- in part, at least -- in terms of the roles that service and line participants occupy.

The argument for a staff-line-service model of organizations, along with the characteristic of diagonal communication, can be pressed in terms of the internal structure

of staff, line and service units and role theory. In fact, an article is now being readied for publication incorporating what I have discussed here with role theory and internal structure as supporting evidence for the model.

Preliminary work with the trichotomy model at the Bank of America has proven useful in explaining and understanding the interaction that some members of the communication department (a service function) have with top management. This work is as yet inconclusive, but does support the theory. Equally as important, we hope it will be of practical value to the members of the organization.

My purpose here, however, is twofold. On the one hand, I hope I have made a case for the staff-line-service trichotomy model; while on the other, I hope to have illustrated the point that often the models we built years ago ignore present realities. And, because we in academia are not dealing with present realities, our counterparts in business and industry have a difficult time finding what we are doing very worthwhile or even interesting.

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IMPROVING COMMUNICATION SKILLS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED STUDENT

Ethel Wilcox and James Wilcox
Bowling Green State University

Teachers of speech communication have recently been increasingly faced with racially mixed classes, as might be predicted from Bowling Green State University's enrollment figures of minority and/or disadvantaged youth. William Pitts (1971), Director of the Student Development Program at Bowling Green reports that, "The minority population of Bowling Green University was less than 150 in 1970. Now, there are approximately 600 Black, Chicano and Native-American students at Bowling Green and almost 1000 will be in attendance by the Fall of 1972." And, it's significant to note that Bowling Green State University is by no means atypical in this respect: minority and/or disadvantaged youth are entering nearly all of this country's colleges and universities in ever increasing numbers.

Yet even with a growing enrollment, it would seem that very little is being done to help disadvantaged youth to become more effective communicators. Sinzinger (1970) recently indicated that perhaps less than one-tenth of all youth participating in Upward Bound (a large, federally-supported program to prepare disadvantaged students for college) are exposed to speech classes. And, judging from the dearth of journal articles in the speech-communication literature dealing with the subject, it appears that of those disadvantaged youth who are enrolled in speech classes, very few recieve instruction tailored to suit their own, often unique, needs. Rather, instructors often attempt to teach a mixed class as if its members were all white, middle-class youth. As this approach does not necessarily fulfill the goal of increased communication effectiveness there is a double tragedy involved: on the one hand the disadvantaged youth is denied skills necessary to achieve his vocational and social objectives while on the other, society is often denied the benefits that could be obtained if the youth had the necessary skills to realize his

objectives. In this respect, the work of those in our field is crucial indeed. Gregg, McCormack and Pedersen (1970) state the problem succinctly:

> The task of securing individual rights and opportunities for those who are denied them because of racial and economic reasons demands the attention of all professions and interests. Accessibility to society's opportunities is only part of the picture, for unless an individual is prepared through relevant training programs to cope with interpersonal demands and occupational requirements which accompany the new freedoms, he cannot take advantage of them. As Friedman and Phillips suggest, the field of communication must be an integral part of training programs, for it deals with behaviors required for economic and political success. (p. 1)

While freely admitting that our comments reflect, for the most part, our own observations rather than any widespread empirical research, (which is not currently available) discussions with other speech teachers and articles in various journals lead us to believe that our experiences have not been unique. With the above in mind, our comments will center around three main concerns:

a. Identifying relevant characteristics of the mixed class;

b. Utilizing communication theory to "explain" the situations; and finally

c. Setting forth suggestions to deal with each of the situations or characteristics of the mixed class.

The relevant characteristics are three in number and are as follows: (1) Lack of interaction, (2) Lack of a positive self image on the part of the disadvantaged youth, and (3) Lack of standard English spoken by all students. Let us briefly examine each of these various characteristics.

Characteristics of a Mixed Class

Lack of initial interaction. Certainly a degree of reticence is to be expected in a new class where students are not well acquainted, but generally students are not hesitant to strike up conversations with or sit next to their new classmates. However, in the mixed class the teacher will likely be faced with a triple problem: often the disadvantaged

minority student will apparently have no desire to interact with his white teacher; the white students will tend to ignore the minority students and vice-versa; and at times there will be mistrust among and between the disadvantaged students themselves.

This "separatist tendency," as we've labelled it, apparently is fairly widespread. Gregg, McCormack, and Pedersen (1970), for instance, have vividly described the hostility they faced when conducting a speech course for black men and women living in a ghetto area of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Although these men were dealing only with ghetto dwelling black citizens, and not a college class consisting of both white and minority students, their writing does provide a sense of the mistrust which often prevails between, say, black students and their white teachers.

> Almost without exception, any white person who is part of a project in a black neighborhood will be faced with deep-seated attitudes of antogonism and distrust. Such attitudes, resulting from a long history of unfulfilled promises and unequal opportunities, manifest themselves both verbally and non-verball. Early in the term we found it difficult to convince our students that we were not trying to deceive them. We were accused of being informers, of trying to divide rather than to unite, and, because we were white, of failing to possess any of the characteristics of trustworthiness. (p. 3)

And, Ratliffe and Steil (1970), on the basis of their recent findings to the effect that "A comparison of the responses of black students . . . with white students . . . reveals significant attitudinal differences," suggest that:

> If the attitudinal sets of black and white students differ as significantly (as their study suggests), communication in the speech course with a racially-mixed enrollment may be difficult. Attitudinal polarization may materialize into confrontation between black and white students. The high degree of neutrality may result in apathetic responses from the black listner for the white speaker and vice-versa. (p. 198)

Although disturbing, the separtism, hostility, and reticence often encountered in the racially mixed class should not be surprising. After all, theorists have for years been telling us that we do not trust (much less like) those with whom we do not interact. And, given the present structure of our social system, with its diverse economic levels, its norms and its prejudices, often there has been little or no opportunity for interaction between, for

example, the white student whose father manages a clothing store in the "better part of town" and the black ghetto student whose father earns substandard wages as a night watchman. As a result, the speech teacher is faced with the outcome of a vicious cycle: the students do not desire to interact with one another because they don't trust each other and they don't trust each other because they haven't interacted.

Given this explanation, the answer to the problem of hostility and reticence seems obvious: have the students interact. But while obvious, the solution is not quite that easy. To simply tell people "Interact!" is no guarantee that they will do so. And, we've found that some exercises, expecially those that place students "in the limelight" or "on the hot seat" so to speak, can absolutely stifle the efforts of some students when it comes to interaction.

The "interaction exercises" that follow are the result of trial and error on our part (and the help of several others concerned with the mixed class). While each class may demand a varied approach, these exercises have proven invaluable in "breaking the ice" and initiating interaction between all class members.

(1). Seating exercise. On the very first day that we meet a mixed class, we suggest that from this day on students are to six next to a new person every class period. We especially urge that they first sit next to the person who is most a stranger to them -- that they do not sit next to the people they associate with outside of class. Simple though the exercise appears to be it has proven to have many benefits. First and foremost it places students in close proximity with one another. It's difficult to ignore someone not two feet away from you and, once you start talking, you may find that the other person isn't so different after all! We've noticed that while most conversation centers around the activities of the speech class, that once in awhile students talk about such things as campus activities, dorm life, or their past home experiences. Often after class, seatmates will leave together and it's gratifying to see them laughing and talking on their way to the student union. Of

course, there will be some students who will sit next to each other without saying a word, but we believe that this too can be beneficial in so much as just bringing oneself to sit by a person of another race can be a real step forward for some students.

(2). In-class "interaction" activities. Over the past year or so, we have been collecting activities which require class members to interact in the solving of a problem. Favorite among these activities are: (A) the N.A.S.A. Space Rendezvous Problem, and (B) Co-operative Squares. These exercises are set forth in detail elsewhere (Pfeiffer and Jones, 1972).

(3). Out-of-class "interaction" activities. Whenever possible, we assign out-of-class activities which can increase student contact and hence, hopefully, interaction. For example, speeches can take place within a "forum" format, to be planned by the various students involved. Students often report that as a result of these somewhat forced planning sessions, friendships have formed and communication has become less strained among the various "factions" of the class.

To increase interaction between the students and their teacher, we have found it useful to schedule "interviews," which in reality are nothing more than friendly visits in the university union. While often nothing of a very substantial nature is discussed in depth, we usually leave these experiences knowing more about the student than before, and hopefully the reverse is also true in that the student knows and understands his teacher better.

Granted, the above are only three of literally hundreds of types of activities which could be utilized to increase interaction and the concerned teacher will be continually looking for new and novel approaches to solving the problem of little interaction in a mixed class. Without interaction, students cannot reap the benefits which stem from a well-designed communication course.

Lack of positive and well-developed self images of minority group students. It would indeed be the exception from the rule if one were to have a class whose participants were all confident, self-assured individuals. However, whereas we've noticed that only a relatively small number of white students have extremely low self-images, that many, if not most, of the black and minority students believe that they do not have the ability to compete well with the average white student -- generally an unsound observation, to be sure. In discussions, white leaders will often dominate the conversations and, upon being asked a question, many minority students are prone to respond with an "I don't know," or "My opinion doesn't matter." In a recent study Jandt and Brooks (1971), concluded that students in the Upward Bound Program on our campus ". . . initially did have a relatively low self concept as communicator." And likewise, Gregg, McCormack, and Pedersen (1970), have noted the problem of self-identity and esteem of black students in their article, "Interaction in a Ghetto Speech Class." These authors ovserved that black students in their class, at least, were apt to trust no one: themselves, other blacks, or their teachers.

Today, communication scholars speak of the self-fulfilling prophecy. That is to say, if I am led to believe that I am lazy, for example, I will most likely act as though I truly and inherently am a lazy person. Given this perspective, it's apparent that at least one of our major concerns as speech teachers must lie with the creation of communication atmospheres conducive to improving student self-concept and self-esteem -- we must communicate to our students that they are indeed worthwhile individuals, that their thoughts and opinions do indeed count.

While the means utilized to improve self-image will likely vary from student to student, one factor must be stressed. That is, one's degree of self-esteem and confidence cannot improve unless one succeeds with at least some of his tasks. With this in mind, a few activities found especially valuable in improving self-image of students are set forth.

(1). Encourage the class to center around "the minority experience." Whenever possible, we encourage students to base discussions around "minority topics" such as "Black

Power," "Women's Liberation," and "Contributions of Black Artists." This activity provides at least three distinct advantages. First, for the minority students, at least, it is an activity in which they usually have the most expertise and hence are able to do well. Second, we have noticed increased pride (of themselves, their race and culture) among minority students following increased exposure to some of the outstanding contributions of their forefathers and/or fellow minority group members. And third, and very importantly, stressing minority group experiences is extremely valuable to the middle-class white student in so much as it increases his awareness of the world around him.

Further testimony to the effectiveness of this general activity is provided by Hawkins (1969), who has described his experience teaching speech "for approximately one hundred low income, underachieving youth from East St. Louis, Illinois." Hawkins describes the outcome of this procedure as follows:

> There was much interest in the topics related to the social concerns of 1967: the Black Power movement, open housing, ghetto problems, and the role of the Negro soldier in VietNam. . . . Some of the titles of their speeches reflect these interests: "Why I am Proud to be Black," "What it Means to be Black in White America," and "The Negro Soldier in the VietNam War." I sensed the students' deep appreciation for the opportunity to "let off steam," to ventilate their frustrations freely. (p. 116)

Although Hawkins does not so state, we have noticed that in the thoughtful and usually lively discussions which follow presentations such as those above, the minority student may discover to his own amazement that his comments, his opinions, and his contributions do have value.

(2). Be free with praise. While not an assigned activity for the students, we would suggest that one of the most effective aids the teacher has at his disposal to use in improving self-concept is to praise one's students time and again. Nothing is such a stimulus to change as a few well-chosen words to the effect, "You did a good job." This is not to say that praise should be insincere or given for tasks not well-performed. But when there is any aspect of an activity which meets or excels the speech teacher's expectations, he should let the student

know it. Recently, for example, a black student in one of our classes gave a speech about playing drums in a jazz band. From a technical point, his speech was, in a word, lousy. But the topic was an interesting one and the student was told this. Another student asked how he came to choose the topic and from this a discussion of the young man's background developed. The class ended before there was a chance to negatively criticize the student. But perhaps the critique period was not ill-spent. After the class was over the student approached one of your authors, grinning from ear to ear and saying, "I didn't know anybody could get so interested in my hobby! What can I do next time to get them to like me again?" Granted, the above student may be somewhat of an exception in the way he responded to praise, but very few students are completely immune to praise of its benefits if the praise is sincerely given.

(3). Listen to and interact respectfully with students. As in the case with giving praise, the fact that one should sincerely listen to one's students almost goes without saying. Yet, Grett, Jackson, and Pedersen (1970), suggest that sincere listening aided self-confidence of their minority students as did no other activity.

> We realized more fully at the termination of the course how important it was that we listen to and respond seriously to the remarks our students made, even those that seemed unreasonable, unrealistic, or outrageous. We concluded that for many of our students, the opportunity to talk with white authority figures who would treat their remarks with respect was a new and rewarding experience. In some cases we noticed perceptible changes in self-confidence and along with the new confidence came a diminution of hostile, aggressive behavior. (p. 7)

To increase our opportunities to listen to and interact with our students, we've adopted a couple of techniques. First, we require at least two conferences a term with each of our students. Ostensibly to provide feedback about the structure and content of the course, these sessions often stimulate more personal conversations. And secondly, as suggested earlier, we often invite students to join us in the union for coffee or a coke. There we frequently exchange ideas, gossip, and mutual problems. These hours have

apparently benefited the students in terms of increased relaxation and freedom in our presence and they certainly have been rewarding for us.

Lack of standard English spoken by all students. If one has little exposure to minority students (especially black students), one of the first aspects that gains attention is the variety of speech dialects. Among black students the "ghettosse" is often so pronounced that to the unfamiliar it may seem that these students are speaking a foreign language. Given this situation, it's surely the atypical speech teacher who does not ask, "What should we do about the way the minority students speak, if anything?"

Certainly, consulting professional texts will lead to no absolute answers. Some scholars adamantly insist that all students should speak only "good English"; others steadfastly proclaim that blacks should be made to feel proud of, made to identify with their language and should speak only the black dialect. Other scholars take more of a middle ground position, holding that as long as a student can adequately convey his ideas, it really doesn't matter so much how he speaks, or what language he uses.

In terms of communication theory it would seem that the latter position makes sense. In our communication courses we are consistently told that there are infinite means of sending messages, that verbal language is just one aspect of the entire communication process. In view of this, perhaps the most significant message we can convey to our black students is "Don't be afraid to interact just because your language and mine are different."

We ask our students to concern themselves not with putting their meanings correctly into their messages but rather to concentrate on putting their meanings in the minds of their listeners. This does not mean, however, that we are unconcerned with style. The age old principle of adaptation is appropriately invoked in our discussions with students over this issue. It is not difficult to suggest that deliberately non-adaptive behavior may not produce desired results. We usually find in our black students an excellent potential for flexibility in adaptation. That they can relate both to whites and to other blacks often puts them a step ahead of their white counterparts for whom adaptation comes with greater difficulty.

(1). Use of non-verbal activities. In stressing the idea mentioned above, we early utilize numerous non-verbal activities, projects which prohibit speaking. One especially enjoyable assignment is that of pantomimes. Numerous situations lend themselves to this activity -- we like the list suggested by Dickens and McBath (1961), which includes such suggestions as:

> 1. Baseball game. The eternal battles between the pitcher, the batter, the umpire.
>
> 2. Orchestra rehearsal. The conductor has his troubles with a violinist and the kettle drummer.
>
> 3. High school dance. Bashful (or aggressive) boy asks timid (or sophisticated) girl for the next dance.
>
> 4. Used car lot. The salesman struggles to find a car that will please both the husband and the wife.
>
> 5. Reducing salon. People will undertake some remarkable contortions for the sake of a good figure.
>
> 6. Travel directions. Strangers ask the way to a side street across town.
>
> 7. Courtroom. The defendant is eager to impress jury members with good will, integrity, and innocence.
>
> 8. Restaurant. A busy waiter meets two indecisive customers. (p. 11-12)

(2). Use of the combined arts approach. Hawkins (1969), has suggested that one of the most successful ways to convey the idea that the way one communicates may justifiably differ from person to person is to use simultaneously the media of dance, speech, drama and art. He tells us that he

> . . . taught a class in speech and motion. Artists . . . were hired to teach classes in native dance and rhythms, percussion, and music.
>
> The classes met separately and then jointly. At first, the students were asked to read silently certain poems, as selected by the instructors. Then they were asked to communicate "with their bodies" what they felt the poems meant. Following this, they were asked to communicate the felt meanings through the use of drums, sticks, etc. Finally, they were asked to communicate their interpretations through oral readings of the poems.

> Many of the students, especially the academically poorer, seemed more interested in communicating through physical activity . . . than through the spoken word. For many of them, behaving expressively seemed more fulfilling than speaking expressively. (p. 117-118)

While not every teacher may have the means or facilities to engage in a course of action similar to that one suggested above, surely every imaginative teacher can devise ways to utilize the various communication skills of his students whether they be verbal or non-verbal.

Concluding Remarks

To this point, very little has been noted concerning the overall structure or content of a speech course for a mixed class. This has been deliberate in so much as we believe that each speech teacher is in a position to best design a course that will be suited to his qualifications and the needs of the particular students involved. Some speech teachers in the basic course may wish to stress public speaking, others discussion, while others wish to concentrate on aspects of interpersonal communication. Any one of these approaches, it seems to us, can be justified if in each approach the teacher continually strives to adapt communication theory to communication practice, to demonstrate to students that what they learn in the classroom is applicable to "the real world."

Finally, let us emphasize that, given the opportunity, one should not shy away from teaching a mixed class. Certainly, one will likely encounter hostility, reticent students, and students who speak in ways to which one may not be accustomed. Some activities that "have always worked beautifully before" may fail miserably. But surely nothing can be more satisfying or stimulating than the variety provided by a class of heterogeneous students. Without a doubt, this type of class provides the opportunity for the teacher to learn far more than his students!

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COMPLEMENTARITY IN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH: MUSIC LYRICS AND DRUG USE

Jon M. Fitzgerald
University of Michigan

In the children's story The Emperor's New Clothes, trusted advisors, members of the immediate royal family, and the general population ignored what to most readers seemed to be most self-evident -- the nudity of the emperor. While it is not the intent of this paper to lay bare the discipline of communication, certain blind spots do exist in communication studies that intentionally or unintentionally color a perspective for research in the communication of social change.

A meaningful analogy of The Emperor's New Clothes can be made with Darnell's (1970), observations on communication:

> To focus on any one thing continuously is to be blind to everything else. Such self-induced blindness is dangerous because it seems to lead to the denial of the significance and the denial of the existence of things not seen. (p. 2)

Darnell is discussing the concentration of speech communication with message analysis. His position reflects the need to remain cognizant of the various academic forces external to our discipline which make contributions to the communication process. However, it seems equally functional to encourage researchers in our discipline to complement each other in pursuit of a common end.

Most of the social research begins with an accepted given: communication is integral to change. The fragmentation that has occurred in speech communication, thus, has its focus in the diverse methods used to study the message. A scholar with methodological blinkers lacks the perspective to adequately pursue the varied messages of social change. What is necessary is a vigorous pursuit of diverse research topoi from the perspective of the multiple methodologies that are inherently available to the communication researcher.

This development would facilitate complementarity in communication scholarship or the use of various research methods to pursue a specific substantive area. Much in the fashion of the little boy who told his mother that the emperor had on no clothes, Emmert (1970), tells us that we need to respond to a question from the perspective of many methodologies: ". . . it is necessary to use a number of instruments for a complete picture of the phenomenon under observation." (p. 162)

To provide an example of the use of complementarity in methodologies for social research, we can look at the drug question. One type of potential drug message -- the music lyric -- provides the basis for the following discussion. (C. F. Hirsch, 1971)

On March 7, 1971, the Federal Communications Commission officially announced that the broadcasting industry was to assume responsibility for the airing of drug songs. Specifically, the F.C.C., indicating possible negative consequences for license renewal petitions, encouraged a ban on lyrics "tending to promote or glorify the use of illegal drugs." (Fong-Torres, 1971)

The Commission's announcement failed to note any currently suspected songs, (although vice president Agnew cited examples such as "White Rabbit," "Eight Miles High," and "A Little Help From My Friends"). More importantly, the F.C.C. also ignored guidelines for the determination of what is a drug lyric. However, it did emphasize that when songs were aired to the general public it was assumed that the potential drug content of a lyric had been determined. The licensee was held dully responsible for this decision.

The statement of the Federal Communications Commission purports a causal connection -- a direct effect (the use of drugs) is produced in a recipient by attending to a drug lyric. A behavioral design to test the validity of this assumption needs to be implemented, but a more comprehensive and more meaningful approach to the issue posited by the F.C.C. action requires the use of complementarity in research tools. The need for complementarity can best be demonstrated by noting various types of research that can and should be conducted on the subject.

Because it is essential that a researcher understand the unique syntax of the drug culture, it is necessary to create a functional drug dictionary. The prime research tools for the compilation of a drug dictionary are the survey and the interview. Definitions should represent all age groups, all ethnic groups and nationalities, and both defenders and violators of the legal system at a minimum.

One of the better justifications for the compilation of the dictionary is offered by Shamberg (1971) in his media gook, Guerilla Television:

> Because we are in an information environment, no social change can take place without new designs in information architecture. An idea whose time has come creates its own context. One of the first stages in the amplification of a cultural phenomenon is the creation of a new lexicon. New lexicons reflect and generate cultural change. (p.23)

Rein, (1969) in his book The Relevant Rhetoric, expresses a similar view. In his review of other stylistic tools of the rhetorician, Rein notes that the majority are inapplicable to the study of "street language." Accordingly, he recommends that we begin to pursue a study of the language of particular "street publics." (see also Anderson and Mortenson, 1967)

Not only does a drug dictionary create a viable lexicon, but it minimizes the bias of the researcher. It would seem that the F.C.C. order, lacking in guidelines, would only produce impressionistic judgments regarding what the definition of a drug lyric is. A starting point for a dictionary, and one that was used in a pilot study, is a compilation by Richard Lingman (1969), called Drugs from A to Z.

It should be recognized that such an instrument has certain requirements. Ethnic, usage, and geographic variations in language must be included. A failure to include ethnic vocabularies can confound the representativeness of the dictionary. The present academic concern for understanding the black child who speaks one language in school and one language at home and in the neighborhood offers exemplification. There is also the need for a subject vocabulary that reflects both symbolic and technical terminology. The area of drugs, by its very nature, produces a specialized language. To complicate matters, since drug use is illegal, a practical vocabulary that is obtuse and in constant flux is used to afford the drug participant minimal protection. Finally, there is the need for geographical variations. The

drug language of the West Coast is not necessarily equivalent to the drug language in other areas of the United States. Nor can one assume the drug language in England, the residence of many of the contemporary music groups, to be equivalent to the drug language in the United States.

A vocabulary standard is necessary. Otherwise, the decision to play or not to play a record, to analyze or not to analyze a lyric, simply reflects the idiosyncratic influence of each individual.

It is recognized that certain grammatical freedoms exist in the development of a musical lyric. However, a structural grammarian can isolate relationships in the symbol selection and arrangement of the lyricist that may provide meaningful insights into the composition of purported drug oriented music.

Some concern needs to be given to the presence of space relationships suggested by the lyric. It is possible to note, for example, that a certain song lyric provides the necessary information to secure a particular drug. This, then, becomes a syntatic study, (Smith, 1966, p. 6), for it indicates the existence of an unofficial communication network, including the procedures to obtain a desired product. An example is a portion of the song "Puppet Man," which explains that the procedure for obtaining marijuana on the street is the identification of the pusher who demonstrates that he has a product to sell by a raised finger.

Non-verbal studies are also important. Many of the drug songs indicate certain emotional states and corresponding behaviors that can be produced from the consumption of a drug. It is critical to determine if these non-verbal descriptions have an impact on the use of the product. However, a system remains to be devised for codifying the nature of non-verbal signs of drug usage contained in music lyrics.

As we move from the structural meaning of a drug lyric to the applied meaning we move from syntactics to semantics. Semantics is concerned with "the interpretive process from the point of view of its social implications." (Alexander, 1969, p. 16) Having a reasonably comprehensive dictionary in functional use enables the researcher to begin probing the social implications of the song lyric. Content analysis provides a meaningful methodological procedure.

A feasible design, dichotomous decisions, can be proposed for the project. This format requires a series of sequential judgments. Holsti, in his explanation of the process, emphasizes the importance of reducing the provided options at each level of decision to two.

The initial level of decision requires a determination of the presence or absence of drug words. While this entire procedure can be executed by raters, experience of this researcher (Fitzgerald, 1971), suggests that computers may be more reliable in the application of the dictionary of drug words and phrases. An absence of drug words at this phase of the process eliminates the song from further considerations.

The second level of decision is to determine if the lyric that has been found to contain drug words or phrases simply describes some aspect of the drug culture or provides a commentary upon the drug culture. If commentary is selected, the final decision determines if the lyric encourages or discourages the use of drugs. If the final phase in the decision process indicates that the lyric encourages the use of drugs, these selected lyrics can then be isolated for experimental analysis. For precision, it is also possible to extend the "encourage drug use" portion of the model two additional stages.

It needs to be emphasized that the process just completed reflects a latent content interpretation. To demonstrate this point, consider the song "Draggin the Line." The title itself could refer to a procedure in fishing on the manifest content level or to the shooting of heroin on the latent content level. Part of the lyric of the same song goes "Diggin' the snow and rain and bright sunshine." On one level it could be a commentary on the climate. On another level it could represent an encouragement to use cocaine (snow), marijuana or a tuinal capsule (rain), and a form of liquid acid known as California sunshine (sunshine).

The problem of latent content can also be extended to the commercial world. One need only go to his neighborhood gas station to see STP, which is a synthetic hallucinogenic drug, advertised as a motor additive. It could be a "racer's edge" for a car or for a human.

For some, Coke, or cocaine, is the real thing. At least, the latent meaning explains the proliferation of the Coke T-Shirt! Or, if you talk about having O.J. in the morning you may be indicating a preference for heroin, not orange juice.

These examples simply demonstrate that the process of content analysis, by itself, fails to provide a full answer to the question posed by the F.C.C. order. Content analysis serves to minimize the distortion in the contents of a particular message caused by impressionistic selection and analysis of lyrics. However, the information that has been isolated merely reflects a static communication situation. The pragmatic value must be ascertained by field experiments on various populations.

Hirsch and Robinson (1969), have conducted one of the few studies on the effects of music lyrics on drug use. Surveying a high school population in a couple of large Michigan communities, they found that contemporary receivers of music were far more influenced by the sound than the lyric and concluded ". . . most of the teen-agers did not understand the lyrics or were indifferent." "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds," one of the songs specified by the noted music critic Spiro Agnew as drug oriented, was identified as a drug lyric by only 27 per cent of Detroit respondents. Another song, "Incense and Peppermints" with a lyric that includes the line "Turn on, tune in, turn your eyes around" was labeled a drug lyric by only 20 per cent of the respondents.

To provide a definitive response to the pragmatic issue, a multitude of questions remain to be answered. For instance, we have only a minimal indication that the lyric probably should not be considered independent of the score. That conclusion is restricted to a teenage Michigan population. We know little about the effects of live performance of drug usage in contrast to the reception of the message in the home or other environments. We also know very little about the universality of the appeal of a song.

But the F.C.C. decree requires a research response to the behavioral impact of drug songs. Hopefully, this paper has shown that the answers to the basic causal correlation require the use of complementarity in methodology.

Answers to such social questions as drug usage cannot be obtained by the use of singular methodologies. Many different research techniques must be used, replicated, and reduplicated. Otherwise, the emperor's condition might never be identified.

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FACILITATING COMMUNICATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

Shirley Gilham
University of Kansas

In the wake of the 1970 Cambodian invasion came a tital wave of what was euphemistically called "campus unrest," but which was in reality the greatest surge of public rebellion to occur in this country since the organization of labor unions. That spring the spirit of rebellion and protest swept from campus to campus, and at the University of Kansas the student union was nearly destroyed by fire, classes were disrupted and a strike was threatened, dozens of small fires were set, thousands of demonstrators marched and chanted, buildings were vandalized, and demands were countered with threats. Coincidentally, both the community and campus were simmering with inter-racial tension. Finally a 7:30 p.m. curfew was imposed on the entire city and National Guardsmen patroled the streets carrying M-1's with bayonets fixed.

Positions were highly polarized and communication between groups was hostile and distrustful when it occurred at all. Although only a tiny percentage of the population ever witnessed any violence, its presence and potential were sensed by most people and highly personalized. The ambiguity of the situation was intolerable: outrageous things were happening, and had already happened. The limits of our credulity were exploding; we were ready to believe anything. Thus any outrageous speculation or conjecture quickly was passed along as "fact." Conditions were perfect for the germination and proliferation of rumor, defined by Allport and Postman (1947), as "a specific or topical proposition for belief, passed along from person to person, usually by word of mouth, without secure standards of evidence being present."

At the height of the frenzy a group of graduate students decided that rumor control was in order. The Dean of Women's Office offered a telephone line, the number of "Rumor Control" was publicized, and a staff of volunteers worked around the clock for days,

checking out every reported rumor. Student groups, city government, and campus and city police appointed liason persons to provide accurate information.

Generally the calls received at Rumor Control fell into four categories:

1. Insufficient Information. These people had just enough information to arouse their anxiety, and needed more facts.
2. Questionable Information. These callers had heard something which strained their credulity. They needed verification or denial from a reliable source.
3. Psychological Comfort. Their world was in disarray and they were helpless to restore it. Talking with a rational, understanding person seemed to help.
4. Decision-making. These people asked for advice on how to conduct their personal lives in this strange situation. Would it be all right to go to the library? Could their children safely walk to school?

Finally, when the smoke had cleared and some degree of normalcy returned, the Chancellor of the University concluded that Rumor Control had been one of the most effective measures during the crisis. He decided to fund a similar operation as a permanent part of student services. And so, in August, 1970, that spontaneous, informal little communication system became a formal, legitimate part of the institution to be know as the K.U. Information Center. Funding included salary for a full-time director, sufficient money to keep one person on duty 24 hours every day of the week answering the phone, and a small amount for supplies and expenses. Although the Information Center was centrally located in the administration building, its service was to be strictly by telephone. There were three incoming telephone lines and one unlisted number reserved for out-going calls.

As the first Director of the Information Center I was faced with a number of decisions and problems. The first was the possibility that the Information Center would be identified as a mouthpiece of the Establishment and lose its credibility with the students. It seemed to me that credibility could be maintained if the Information Center were run by students for students. Accordingly, the entire staff was made up of students -- juniors, seniors, and graduate students who had been on campus for at least two years. In choosing staff I looked for the qualities which one associates with a person skillful in interpersonal communication -- objectivity, compassion, initiative, patience, self-assurance, and a high level of consciousness.

A second major problem was setting the limits of our service. Obviously if we dealt only with rumor and crisis situations we would spend a good deal of time twirling our thumbs -- crises tend to come and go. The logical question was "what information needs are not being met in the university community which could be met by the Information Center?" Looking at the amount of printed information about the university available to students I found a plethora of catalogs, pamphlets, and handbooks. Every point was covered in detail and with predictable bureaucratic redundancy. Indeed, the amount of information about the university in print equaled in volume several textbooks. Even if these materials were widely distributed (which they were not) would any student have either the time or inclination to read all of them in addition to burgeoning reading assignments for classes?

But if a student doesn't feel like doing all that reading there is the alternative of consulting the Dean of Men or the Dean or Women. Unfortunately, both these offices are still associated in many students' minds with disciplinary problems or with fraternity and sorority affairs. There is also, it seems, a tendency for students to assume that these deans are too busy to help individuals. There are dormitory counselors -- for those students who live in dormitories. There are the Guidance Bureau, the Psychological Clinic, and the Mental Health Clinic -- for those who know they exist and can find them. There are

academic advisors -- who often don't know a lot about the university outside of their own disciplines and who usually have too many advisees anyway.

In short, there was a highly structured, complex, formal communication system. But it had taken me four years as a student to figure out the university bureaucracy, and most of my information had come from other students through an informal communication system. From an organizational communication viewpoint it appeared that a great deal of information was circulating in the administrative level of the university hierarchy, but that the channels through which the information was supposed to reach 18,000 students were inadequate. If this were true then the Information Center could serve as a readily accessible, non-circuitous information channel -- a bridge between the formal and informal communication systems of the university.

I decided not to place limits on the kind of service we would offer, but rather to leave the service open-ended and to try to respond to any reasonable request, except for telephone number requests which we would refer to directory assistance. The only people we would not talk to were the news media. We also put a ban on giving our personal opinions and on speculating about the future. In staff training I stressed the difference between fact and opinion.

Two major tasks remained: setting up an information storage and retrieval system, and publicizing the existence of the Information Center. By the time fall enrollment came we had on file every brochure, pamphlet, catalog, and handbook about the university. Our filing cabinet contained folders on every academic department and every administrative office, folders on every organization associated with the university, and on numerous community service organizations. One file drawer labeled "Topical" listed resources for draft counseling, birth control, day care facilities, mental health care, crash pads, and dozens of other topics.

Our reference books included a good dictionary, two almanacs, Hoyle's game rules, Guiness' Book of World Records, and a cook book. (They have all been used many times.) A big loose-leaf notebook with tab dividers held the schedules of major and minor sports, intramural games, university theatre productions, concerts and recitals, and student union film series, as well as the hours of operation for every university facility, such as the libraries, swimming pool, observatory, and ticket booths. We subscribed to two newspapers and were on the mailing list of every newsletter published at K.U.

Pinned on the 13-foot long bulletin board were maps of the campus and the city along with two large monthly calendars -- one for the current month's events and one for the month ahead. Our police band scanner radio monitored broadcasts of the city police, campus police, sheriff's patrol, highway patrol, and fire department.

A psychiatrist had talked with our staff about how to handle sucide calls, and a drug abuse expert gave us advice on freak-outs and bad trippers.

As for publicity, the chancellor had talked about the Information Center in more than forty speeches around the state during the summer, so most of Kansas knew we were there. We also had printed 10,000 gummed labels to stick on telephones, reading, "Need Help? Dial 864-3506, University Information Center, 24 hour service." These were distributed to dorms, living groups, offices, and pay phones all over campus. I also sent letters describing the Information Center to all the faculty members and to officers of all student organizations, and personally contacted as many key people as time would allow.

We hoped we were adequately prepared.

During the first 11 months of operation the Information Center staff handled 33,218 calls. At no time during the year was there a crisis period equal to that of the previous spring, but there were several bomb threats, three small dormitory fires, the computer center was bombed, and on one memorable night in February the Kansas attorney general rode into town with 200 deputies to arrest 24 people on drug charges. The busiest day of

the year, however, came unexpectedly when a heavy snowstorm forced the university to cancel classes because of weather for the first time in its history. That day our weary staff talked to 2,055 people about snow.

We learned that during a crisis period we could handle a maximum of 365 calls an hour with three people on the three incoming lines. Our credibility remained remarkably high -- 97% according to a survey taken in December, 1970. Another survey indicated that the Information Center was effectively controlling rumors in that when our callers learned that rumors were false they were passing the corrected information along to others 96% of the time.

During that year we were asked every question we could have anticipated and a good many questions we had never dreamed of. A record was kept of each incoming call, and we identified six general categories:

1. Rumors, a category which includes only false rumors, comprising two per cent of the total calls.
2. Incidents, which covers questions about shootings, sirens, bomb threats, and other unusual events -- 16%.
3. Personal Assistance, an umbrella label for birth control information, abortion referral, draft counseling, mental health counseling, and other personal problems -- 6%.
4. University Information, which includes any question about the university excepting incidents and rumors. This was, as we had guessed it would be, the largest category comprising 47% of the calls.
5. General Information, a catch-all category for such gems as "How many baby mice are there in a litter?" or "How do you set up a chess board?" or "What is this 'Easter' people are talking about?" (asked by a Moslem student) -- 10%.

6. Telephone number requests, which drove the staff up the wall. No matter how many times we explained that we weren't directory assistance, there were always more people to be set straight -- 19%. Happily this category dropped off sharply after our first year.

The total number of calls during the second year was 50,815, a substantial increase in spite of the fact that there were no bombings, shootings, or incidents of arson. This June we mailed every new student accepted for fall enrollment a letter describing our service which began, "Dean Fellow Human Being," and enclosed one of our trademark telephone stickers. I think next year will be busier than ever.

The concept of information centers is growing. There are a number of switchboards in cities across the country, staffed by volunteers and funded by donations, which are providing personalized information for the counter-culture. The committee planning the Bicentennial Celebration of the birth of this country has announced that a nation-wide network of information centers will be set up to provide information about bicentennial events. However, these information centers, like the one at K.U. are crude compared to what information centers may become. As our society becomes more and more complex the individual is less and less able to find out what he needs to know. Robert Theobald (1968), who maintains that in future decades our primary work will involve moving information, suggests that universities should center around computerized information centers through which a student can "find out about the present state of knowledge in each . . . area, the range of activities now occurring on campus and the interests of others on the campus so that he can find the like-minded people with whom he could work successfully." Although we are a long way from Theobald's projection, our experience at K.U. indicates that the complexity of universities has created an information vacuum which communication experts can help fill.

FOOTNOTES

Allport, Gordon and Leo J. Postman, The Psychology of Rumor. New York: Holt. 1947.

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COMMUNITY ACCESS TO MONTREAL MEDIA

Michael Ryan
University of Oklahoma

Community access to mass media offers communication researchers new directions. The development of novel communication technologies has increased the possibility and demand for public access to the electronic mass media and has reawakened interest in public access to the older medium of print. Uncomplicated, portable, and economical equipment makes the average citizen a potential television director of a film maker and most directors and film makers want to transmit messages. As a consequence, citizens demand more access to the mass media both in the passive sense of reacting to current media fare and in the active sense of participating in that fare.

Adequate research in any new direction demands a description of the norms governing the phenomenon and this paper describes patterns of community access to Montreal media. The paper considers the topic from a national perspective before focusing on the local perspective. The national perspective points out the unique character of Canadian mass media and the Montreal perspective reviews the development, findings, and recommendations of the Montreal Handbook on Media Access (1972), a tool for community group expression.

The National Perspective

The Uncertain Mirror (1970-1), a report of the Special Canadian Senate Committee on Mass Media, describes the multilingual and multicultural nature of Canada's mass media; a mass media which reflects the polyglot nature of Canada's people. The Report also touches upon the unique nature of the Canadian broadcasting system with its public and private sectors as well as a cable broadcasting system with more miles of cable than any other national system.

The Report of the Task Force on Citizens' Participation (1972) addresses the question of citizens' access to mass media, a question left unresolved in the Uncertain Mirror. This

Report reflects the growing involvement of Canadians in their mass media as demonstrated by names of 1,200 British Columbia citizens on a petition protesting the state of local programming (MacDonald, 1972); the community owned and operated radio stations in Windsor, Ottawa, and Montreal; and the courses in media production offered to community groups by the CEGEPS in Quebec. The Report also mentions the media handbooks for community groups produced by Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal groups. This paper focuses on one of these handbooks in order to give a local perspective on media access in Canada.

A Local Perspective

The Montreal Handbook on Media Access (1972) surveys the state of media access for some two and a half million citizens in Canada's largest city.

The Handbook

The Handbook, published in both French and English, directs itself to the socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural community mosaic which one finds in metropolitan Montreal. Lower middle, and upper class groups, which comprise the French, English, Italian, Polish, and Jewish communities of Montreal may use the Handbook as a tool in intra-group, inter-group, and mass communications.

Content: The Handbook includes specific detailed information on access to both the software and hardware of Montreal's establishment and alternate media. The establishment media include those French, English and ethnic print, radio, television, and film outlets which attempt to make profits. Alternate media include those underground, anti-poverty, and religious print, radio, television, and film outlets managed by non-profit organizations.

The Handbook also includes 'how to do it' sections on print, audio, audio-visual, and visual production including sources and prices. An index considers the legal status of Canadian groups desiring media access and the legal pitfalls facing those who do gain access.

Research Techniques: Nine researchers divided the task into four sections: French and English establishment media and French, English and ethnic alternate media. They gained information on policies and practices of each medium concerning citizens access by means of personal interviews with the owners, producers, and directors of private and public broadcasting outlets; editors of newspapers and magazines; directors of film, video tape and audio libraries; media coordinators of academic and religious institutions, and finally, officials from the federal and provincial governments. Researchers also surveyed the relevant books in Montreal and Ottawa libraries. Three researchers served as writer-editors of the handbook and bilingual members of the research team translated the English material into French and vice-versa. A professional layout specialist packaged both the French and English editions of the Handbook which will come off Dawson College press in September of 1972.

Findings: A review of the data suggests that media access varies with the size and financial background of the medium as well as the geographical location of the ownership.

First, smaller media offer more community group access than larger media. Montreal's ethnic, underground, and anti-poverty press offers much more column space to community groups than do the large circulation dailies such as the Montreal Star, the Gazette, and La Presse.

Second, non-profit media offer more community access than profit oriented operations. Consequently, a publicly owned broadcasting station such as radio station CBM carried a community group message more readily than a privately owned radio station such as CKGM.

Third, locally owned media offer more access than regionally or nationally owned media. For example, Montreal owned radio station CFMB offers more access than Toronto owned CFCF. Indeed, the Canadian Radio and Television Commission considers local media ownership an important policy point when alloting licences (1971-2).

Recommendations: Means and methods should be established to transmit information on the nature of specific media. Community groups often lack awareness of the grammar, and punctuation of print, radio, television, and film. This unawareness leads to such white elephants as community produced cable television programs featuring one half hour of talking faces. They fail to realize that newspaper editors reject letters to the editor for both 'parochial' and 'legalistic' reasons (Cameron, 1972). They reject letters for the following 'parochial' reasons: personal attack (libel), lack of local interest, political nature, religious nature, obscene nature, and poor taste. They reject letters because of 'legalistic' reasons such as anonymity, length, and mimeographed form. Community groups also fail to realize that the medium such as cable demands long term community groups which prepare material on a regular basis and conduct adequate research on the topic. Besides being unqualified, community groups become discouraged because they underestimated production time and brought too few or many personnel (CRTC, The State . . . , 1972). Finally, community groups often engage spokesmen who use local terminology, a terminology which often bears the mark of bilingual interference. The middle class mass media reacts negatively to local accents and dialects and this hampers effective message transmission on radio and television.

Several means of transmitting information about the nature of media exist. The first and most effective means in actual involvement in the medium such as working on an anti-poverty newsletter or making a video-tape about a community project. Direct experience often proves the most effective teacher. Other alternatives include the use of lecture, print, audio tape, audio-visual or the film to explain the nature of the media. The Montreal Handbook on Media Access uses print to explain the nature of print and the other media. Parallell Institute, a community organization foundation funded by the United Church and the Canadian National Film Board, plans to transfer some essential material from the Handbook to audio tape, and, along with similar information on video tape and film, hopes to use this multimedia package in its work.

Community groups need local media catalogues giving the policies and practices of neighborhood media; the names, addresses, and roles of those media representatives responsible for citizens' participation; sources of media equipment, price lists, and a host of related practical bits of information.

These catalogues should be revised biannually by some media interest group since the media often replaces personnel regularly. These catalogues might submit to the form of a loose leaf binder, a form which allows additions and deletions of relevant and irrelevant material. These media catalogues should forever assume an unfinished state.

Finally, both private and public sources should fund groups who carry out the above recommendations. This funding should be of a long term nature in order that groups might function without facing the spectre of poverty after a three or six month period or spend valuable time and energy conforming to the grants. One can find this recommendation in the Report of the Task Force on Citizens' Participation (1972).

As one might gather, the majority of recommendations generated from research on community access to Montreal media may apply in other Canadian situations; situations characterized by a polyglot media and a public and private system of broadcasting. Some may be generalized further.

The Montreal Handbook on Media Access surveyed community access to Montreal media. This survey yielded several gross findings which may provide the communication researcher with hints for further research. A researcher might take the results of the interviews with the media personnel and content analyze them in order to generate testable hypotheses and ensuing research. A researcher might compare the community access between establishment and alternate media; between French and English media, between print and film and between any other categories upon which he chooses to fixate.

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